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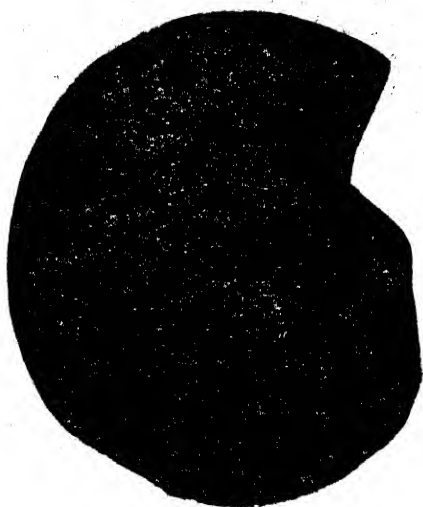
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PART I

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OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY

MARCH

1941



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1941,

[PART I

Leading Articles

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE BIHAR
AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY,

1940-41

By THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR SAIYID FAZL ALI
Vice-President of the Society

One of the chief objects of this meeting is that those who are interested in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society should know what work has been done by the Society during the preceding twelve months. The annual report prepared by the Honorary Secretary offers some information on the subject and all that I propose to do is to supplement it by mentioning a few additional facts and giving some further details about the matters referred to in the report.

As is stated in that report, during the period under review several journals published in various

parts of India applied to us for affiliation and exchange. Also in February last the Curator of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, which was founded some fifty years ago, asked us to include the Library in the exchange list of the institutions to which our publications are sent and offered to send us all their Sanskrit and other publications, which are over one hundred in number, by way of exchange. The Curator in making this request wrote to us as follows:—

“The members of the staff of this Library and the scholars doing research work in it find the publications of your institute highly useful.”

This letter and other similar letters which we have received in the course of the year show how our publications are regarded by those who are best qualified to judge their value. It is gratifying to note that in spite of the war we have been able to maintain close and cordial relations with the rest of the Empire.

We have re-established contact with the Cambridge University through the present Librarian of the Haddon Library at Cambridge named after her late father who was one of our distinguished Honorary members; and we hope to publish at an early date the text of *Uttaratantra* as prepared by Dr. Johnston, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. *Uttaratantra* is an important treatise on early Buddhism written in Sanskrit and recovered from Tibet.

In the four numbers of our Journal which were published in time we have included only such

articles and notes as conformed to the standard of scholarship associated with this publication. Among the articles dealing with ancient India, may be mentioned the 'Stone Inscriptions from Maksudpur' and "Mauryan Sculptures from Lohanipur" written by Dr. Banerji-Sastri in the June issue; a supplementary note on "Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked coins, one found at Ramna and one at Machuatoli" by Mr. Walsh and a note on "Two Hero Stones from Bankura" by the Curator of the Sarnath Museum, Benares.

In 1930, 231 objects of antiquarian interest had been recovered at Kurkihar, a place within Pargana Narhat, in the district of Gaya. These were subsequently acquired under the Treasure Trove Act in 1935. Of these objects 226 are images of some gods and goddesses of North Bengal of the period between the 9th and the 11th centuries A.D. Mostly of bronze these images constitute a unique collection, 93 of them being inscribed. At the request of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, Dr. Banerji-Sastri read these inscriptions and his account will appear with estampages in the *Epigraphia Indica* published by the Government of India. In the meantime, a shorter account more suitable for the *Journal* was published by the learned writer in the September and December numbers.

We have also published in our *Journal* several interesting contributions dealing with the later periods of Indian history such as (1) the story of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur by Professor Basu of Bhagalpur (2) Maharaja Kalyan Singh, the last Indian

Governor of Bihar by Professor Syed Hasan Askari and (3) the Administration of Justice in Bihar and Bengal during Verclst's governorship by Dr. N. Chatterji of the Lucknow University. Other valuable contributions are (1) *Āṅgiras* by Mr. Satya-sraya (2) Chota Nagpur by Mr. M. Banerji of Ranchi (3) A Tibetan account of Bengal by Dr. Sarkar. In the last mentioned article Dr. Sarkar has shown great industry in collecting some traditional references to historical places and persons in India recorded in certain Tibetan compilations. Dr. Kali Kinkar Dutta and Mr. Jagdish Narain Sarkar are the other learned contributors who have enriched the pages of the Journal with their research. The publication of *Pramāṇavārtika* as an appendix was also completed during the year.

The search for Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts has been continued with important results and if funds permit it is proposed to carry on further search in Bhagalpur and Purnea which may take about two years more. The search would then have covered practically all the promising sites of Bihar.

Volume IV of the "Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila" edited by Dr. Banerji-Sastri was published during the year and was very well received in Europe and India. The cost of printing and publishing the first four volumes was met out of the funds generously placed at the disposal of the Society for the purpose by the late Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. Seven more volumes have been made ready for the press by the editor with the assistance of the Mithila Pandit and now await fur-

ther patronage from the enlightened house of Darbhanga.

The most important acquisition to the Library during the year was a complete set of the Tanjur at a cost of about Rs. 3000/-. With the Kanjur acquired in 1937, this set of the Tibetan translation of the Indian Buddhist scriptures in a hundred bulky volumes is the most complete and best written edition in the whole of India. The Kanjur (Kahgyur) are Buddhist sacred texts translated from the Indian Sanskrit about a thousand years ago and the Tanjur (Tanhgyur) a complete set of which was acquired by us in 1937, are commentaries thereon. The cost of the set of Tanjur now acquired was partially met by selling to the Rangoon University for a sum of Rs. 3000/- an inferior set of the work which had been presented to us by Mr. Rahula Sankrityayana.

I think that this brief review of the year's work will not be complete without my acknowledging the valuable services rendered by the small band of scholars headed by Dr. Banerji-Sastri whose efforts have earned such a high reputation for the Society and its Journal. I must also thank Mr. Sham Bahadur and Mr. Taraporevala for their services to the Society as Treasurer and as Librarian respectively and also the members of the Council for their ungrudging help to me and the keen interest taken by them in the affairs of the Society.

THE WALL-PAINTINGS OF AJANTA*

By G. YAZDANI

I consider it a great privilege to be able to address such a distinguished gathering of scholars and eminent persons through the courtesy of the Vice-President and the Council of the Society and I thank them heartily for the honour which they have done me. On this occasion I must also say that the Bihar and Orissa Research Society occupies a pre-eminent position among the Societies of its kind in India, and it has made a substantial contribution to the interpretation and advancement of knowledge pertaining to the culture and history of this country. In the long list of great savants and experts who have contributed to your *Journal* there are some who have gone to their final rest, and on an anniversary like this it may be appropriate to revive the memory of their work for inspiration and guidance. Their names are, Dr. Vincent A. Smith, Dr. David B. Spooner, Mr. V. H. Jackson, Sir George A. Grierson, Prof. Rakhal-das Bannerji, Mahamahopadhyaya Har Prasad Sastri and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. May their souls rest in peace!

Now to begin with the subject of my Address I may first tell you something about the history of the country in which the Ajanta caves are situated.

*Address delivered before the annual meeting of the B. & O. Research Society on Friday, the 7th March 1941 at which His Excellency the Governor of Bihar presided.

Several centuries before the Christian era the Deccan and its adjoining provinces were under the rule of a people who are called Andhras in the history of India, and whose descendants are the present-day inhabitants of the Telingana province of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and the North-eastern districts of the Madras Presidency, situated between the deltas of the rivers Godavari and Krishna. According to Pliny the Andhras ruled over an extensive kingdom comprising as many as "30 fortified towns and an army estimated at 100,000 infantry, 2000 horsemen and 100 elephants." The Andhra kingdom is also mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions, as one of the foreign countries which had espoused the doctrine of that Emperor. The Archæological Department of Hyderabad, since its inception in 1914, has discovered three rock-cut edicts of Asoka, one of which is at Maski and the other two at Kopbal. These inscriptions, although in an indirect manner, show the penetration of the Buddhist religion to the South-western parts of the Andhra kingdom, yet they do not indicate in any sense that the Andhras were subject to Asoka.

Ethnically the Andhras were a non-Āryan race, apparently a mixture of the aboriginal people of India with the Scythians who entered the Deccan and the Southern parts of the Indian Peninsula at some period during the Iron Age, for their megalithic tombs, which exist in great abundance in the form of cairns, cromlechs etc., invariably contain iron implements. Their knowledge of metallurgy is also proved by a large number of iron smelting

factories which have recently been found at various ancient sites in the Deccan, as also by the traces of old gold workings in South-western parts of Hyderabad State, notably at Maski, Hatti and Wondalli. One of the old shafts which has been examined recently was sunk to a depth of 600 ft., and one wonders how the gold-diggers of those days by manual labour and simple tools could manage to work down to such depths without the present-day machinery.

Apart from their knowledge of metallurgy these people seem to have developed a fairly high type of culture and acquired considerable skill in the arts of sculpture and painting. In Cave X at Ajanta there are several painted inscriptions, one of which is associated with a subject in which a Raja goes with his attendants to a Bodhi Tree for worship. The Bodhi Tree, which is bedecked with flags, represents the Buddha himself, and the subject is a story from the *Jātakas*. The inscription painted over the head of the Raja was first deciphered by Bhagvanlal Indraji, and recently it has been examined by Dr. H. Lüders, who in a letter to me writes as follows:—

“After careful examination of the photo of the painted inscription in the Ajanta Cave X in connection with the published drawing I have come to the conclusion that it may be assigned to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. It is true very little is left of the writing, but the *bha* with the elongated right vertical, the *va* with the curve tending to be triangular, the *pa* with

the rounded corners, the *ya* with the semi-circular base, tally with the characters of the Bharhut inscriptions.

“As regards the inscription carved on the façade of the cave, of which you kindly sent me an excellent estampage, I am sure that it is even earlier, *va*, *pu*, *gha*, *kha* showing Asokan forms. Only the *ra* which consists of a straight line may be a little later. In my opinion the inscription can be safely assigned to about 200 B.C.”

These inscriptions are of great value to us in determining the periods of the origin and the development of the art of painting in the Deccan. First of all I show you the figure of the Raja with the inscription painted over it. It is very indistinct, but as the figure of this Raja appears several times in the delineation of the story it is clear that the inscription is coeval with the painting of the subject. If we accept the view of Lüders in regard to the age of the inscription as correct, we find that the art of painting was considerably developed in the second century B.C., and to reach that stage it must have taken several centuries since its origin. To make clear this point I show you some slides representing this subject. In the first slide there is a group of attendants armed with maces, spears and curved weapons which may be swords. One attendant at the extreme left end has an elaborate head-gear and as this figure is painted near the Raja several times in the story he may be the standard-bearer or the life-guard of the Raja. In the next slide the Raja appears with a group of ladies in front of the Bodhi Tree. This

scene is important in order to judge the artistic merits of the painting. The fresco is much damaged, first through the inclemencies of weather and afterwards by the indiscreet and vandalistic scribblings of the visitors during the latter half of the last century. The first slide of this subject has been prepared from a photo taken direct from the rock-wall, but as it may be confusing to an ordinary student I have had the painting traced from the original, having eliminated all the scribblings. The Raja faces the Bodhi Tree and is reciting some set prayer with an earnestness and feeling of hope worthy of such functions. The five ladies to his left proper are listening to the prayer and looking with devout attention at the face of the Raja. There is also the figure of a child just near the Bodhi Tree. Perhaps the object of the visit of the Raja is the fulfilment of some vow, or performance of a ceremony in connection with the child. The women behind the Raja, who are also five in number, are apparently attendants—one of them is holding an umbrella. They are looking in different directions—the elder ones to the Bodhi Tree and the younger to their own objects of interest. There is no monotony either in the gaze or the pose of these ladies. The figures have been painted in the round showing much suppleness in the treatment of limbs. The coiffures, the scarves, the jewellery exhibit a variety of styles, all indicating grace and beauty and a refined artistic taste. The colours used in the original painting are three only—red-ochre, lamp-black, and white of lime. I may also mention here parenthetically that the colours used

by the artists of Ajanta were principally earth-colours obtained locally, except lapis-lazuli, which they have used for the blue tint and which was obtained from North-west India.

The next slide shows the Bodhi Tree with a group of ladies, two of whom are dancing and the rest are either playing on musical instruments or clapping. Clapping is still used in the East for marking time both in dancing and singing. The movements of the dancers are indicated by the upper parts of their bodies which are preserved, although the fresco is much damaged. Such poses and steps are common even in the dancing of India to-day; but at the same time they prove that the artist had complete mastery in showing the movement of the body in all possible manners and producing an effect of grace in the general theme of the subject. The musical instrument resembles a trumpet with a broad end, and it might have been made of horn or wood or metal. There are several dancing scenes at Ajanta which I will show you later, and in them drums, cymbals and fiddles have also been painted. The absence of the latter instruments in this scene may indicate that in the 2nd century B.C. the horn or the trumpet was the principal instrument of music. Another interesting feature in this scene is that the ladies are sitting on stools of beautiful wicker-work. This kind of furniture in the apartments occupied by ladies does not appear in the Decan at a later period and is not found to-day except for the use of the males. Ladies generally squat on the ground or sit on low wooden seats, the

pīrhis (पिरी). In the frescoes at Ajanta wicker-work seats continue up to the 3rd century A.D. i.e. roughly speaking up to the end of the Andhra rule. This fresco is of interest to the students of Buddhism also who may want to know the period when ladies began to take part in the ritual at the sacred institutions of that faith. Besides the Bodhi Tree, which is apparently a *pīpal* (*Ficus Religiosa*) there are two other trees in the background—one at the extreme right end is a mango (*Mangifera Indica*), and the other a banyan (*Ficus Bengalensis*), all three of which are sacred to the Buddhist. Now both these scenes by their artistic and technical qualities show a practice extending over several hundred years in order to attain such high standards, and it may be safe to assume that the art of painting in the Deccan stretches back to the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.

The progress of the art remained slow but steady during the period 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. for in another fresco in the same cave (X), which bears an inscription of 300 A.D., we find that although the intellectual qualities of the art have developed yet the advance in technical skill is hardly perceptible. I show you two scenes from the Shad-danta-Jātaka, or the story of the six tusked elephant, who had two wives. In the first scene the Rani is shown in a melancholy mood, bent on taking revenge and she asks her husband, the Raja, to get the tusks of the elephant who was her husband in a previous birth and who had maltreated her by showing love to another wife of his. The first part of this episode is shown in the

bed-room and the second in the court-room, where the Raja is sitting on an ornamental chair with the Rani to his right and ordering the hunters to get the tusks of the elephant in order to humiliate him and thus soothe the anger of the queen. The dresses of the hunters and their crouching attitude are worthy of notice.

The second slide represents the hunters when they have brought the tusks and the Rani faints at their sight. One of the ladies who is standing behind the Raja is fanning the queen. Another is rubbing her soles, another has brought water to sprinkle over her face, and another is biting her finger to restrain her grief. Now apart from the dramatic qualities of the subject there is a human note which at once appeals. For instance, in the beginning we have the idea of revenge borne through jealousy, and ultimately the remorse resulting from an outburst of love at the sight of the tusks of the elephant who was her husband in the previous birth. This human note is predominant in the entire series of Ajanta paintings. The Buddha in his emotions and feelings in his worldly life, as also in the inner struggles to attain Enlightenment by pious devotion, self-sacrifice and sympathy for fellow-creatures, is always shown like an ordinary human being and not a God speaking from heaven. Further the doctrine of *Nirvana* or final extinction, when looked upon from the point of view of Ajanta paintings, implies a kind of eternal peace or an eternal bliss, for there is an expression of joy, instead that of melancholy, in the art of Ajanta. This expression places the art of Ajanta in apparent con-

trast to the art of Italy, the general expression of which is one of 'pathos.'

The history of the Andhra kings becomes obscure in the 3rd century A.D. although scions of this race might have established minor kingdoms in different parts of the Deccan before the extinction of the main dynasty, the Satāvahānas of Paithan. The progress of the art of painting on the contrary remained very remarkable from the 4th century A.D. onward until the end of the 5th century, or the first half of the 6th century, when the high water mark was reached. The apparent reason of this development was a greater fusion of the culture of North India (Āryan) with that of the Deccan, so-called Dravidian. From the few specimens of this period, which I am showing, you will be able to realise that a loftier idealism, a richer imagination, and a more refined taste in the pictorial qualities, are noticeable. The influence of the Buddhist doctrine, however remains supreme, and there is a restraint as opposed to exuberance, which forms the salient feature of the mediaeval art of India under Brahmanical faith as shown by its sculpture and architecture. To elucidate my point of view I present to you some scenes from the paintings of Cave I which belong to the 5th century A.D. The first subject is a scene from the Mahajanaka Jātaka, which is a story of a previous life of the Buddha. He has come to beg at his own door after he had renounced the world. The Rani, his wife, finds the voice of the Bhikshu familiar and sends food in a tray to the beggar. The figure of the Buddha has been drawn with very great skill: his highly refined

features and also an expression of serenity over his face have given a spiritual significance to the whole painting. The colour scheme is also very good. The pale blue background has brought out the wooden pavilion and its inmates almost in relief. The artist has taken special delight in accentuating the contours of the body of the Rani and in decorating her with a wealth of ornaments and a most beautiful head-dress. In strong contrast to the chaste and almost classical features of the Buddha is the rough face of the door-keeper, who has a dangling moustache and is sitting on his haunches midway in the door.

Another subject showing intense human feeling is the scene where Mahajanaka after hearing the sermon of a hermit decides to communicate to his wife his intention of renouncing the world. Mahajanaka is shown broaching this unpleasant subject in the central apartment of his palace. His wife is listening to him with attention, but the concern and anxiety felt is more apparent from the faces of the maids, who have all come close to the Rani. One of them is so much unnerved that the white lotus flower which she holds is slipping out of her hand. Some of the heads of the ladies in this group have been drawn with very great skill, particularly those of the two maids, one of whom is standing behind the Raja and another behind the Rani, the latter wearing a blue jacket.

There is another scene from this Jātaka painted on the left wall of Cave I. It represents a dance. Sir C. V. Raman, our eminent physicist, is deeply

interested in the origin and development of the musical instruments of India. I have already shown you in a painting of the 2nd century B.C., that the only musical instrument used by the religious orchestra was a trumpet. In this scene we see flutes, cymbals and *tablas* (small drums). Sir C. V. Raman's opinion is that the Indian *tabla* was the first instrument of its kind from which all the seven notes of music could be reproduced, and that was arranged by dividing the top leather covering into three circular bands, brown, white and black, each of varying thickness. Further, for stretching the skin sixteen strings were tied round the bowl of the drum. This instrument went to the West from the Orient and although the seven notes of music can be produced by the kettle-drum or tympanum-drum, and Beethoven has also used the tympanum-drum as an independent instrument of music, in India this was done much earlier. In this fresco we see two *tablas* with the usual strings round their bowls in as perfect a form as they are in India even to-day. The painting belongs to the 5th century A.D., and it is interesting to note that the knowledge of acoustics was so advanced in India at that time that the drum had been made capable of producing all the seven musical notes. The pose of the dancer also in this fresco is very characteristic of the Indian style of dancing. The dresses of the musicians throw light on the style of garments worn and the materials used in making them in those days.

I now pass on to a representation of the Buddha as Prince Siddharta after he has renounced the world.

Being the son of a Raja he is wearing a rich crown set with jewels and also other ornaments worthy of the son of a king. He has no upper garment and in this connection I may observe that in the paintings of Ajanta the Rajas are generally shown naked down to their waist, although the courtiers and attendants are fully dressed, some of them wearing a kind of long coat with tight sleeves, like the *angrakha* of the mediaeval times. The ladies of high birth have been shown wearing tight bodices of a thin gossamer-like material, almost transparent, while women of middle classes are clad in *cholis* of thicker material. In this fresco also the guard to the right proper of Prince Siddharta is wearing a full-sleeved long coat and the maid between the Prince and the Princess is dressed in a frock of a bluish material.

To return to the figure of Prince Siddharta, his physique is well developed, as of a young man of good habits, while the features are highly refined and there is a calm and repose over his face which reflect the tranquillity of his mind. I may remark here parenthetically that the features of the Prince are more Āryan in type than those of the Raja painted on the wall of Cave X, whom you saw at the beginning and who ethnically resembles a Maratha of the present-day. The pose of the Prince is also very graceful, and the artist in order to show the figure in the round has deepened the outline and given a dark-green background to show the crown and head in relief. The colour scheme is well thought out; the red bands contrast beautifully with the green foliage of the areca-nut tree and the blue feathers

of the peafowls. The Princess has a dark complexion and it may be interesting to note that in the paintings of Ajanta there appears to be no social distinction based on colour. There are some queens with a fair complexion whose husbands are dark, and also *vice-versa*, as we see in the present painting. The general complexion of the human figures in Ajanta is dark brown, which is fairly representative of the real complexion of Indians, but in some cases conventional colours have also been given, as green to the inhabitants of the jungle, or red, representing the sun-burnt complexion, to the lower classes. The figure of the Princess shows a motherly grace in general appearance, but she is prepossessed with feelings of sorrow at the coming separation from her husband.

The fresco is a large one crowded with many figures. Prince Siddharta himself has been painted of colossal size about 8 ft. in height. The Italian painters of the 15th and 16th centuries always painted their principal figures larger than human size in order to attract the attention of the on-looker at once to the subject. In this fresco we see little *apsarases*, or heavenly musicians, descending from heaven to congratulate the Prince on his wise decision. Monkeys are leaping on the hills and peafowls are uttering shrieks of joy, while the wild tribesmen have smiles on their lips, all expressing a common feeling of exultation at the foresight and vision of the Prince. This harmony of feeling between the various orders of Creation dissolves on the one hand the complexity of the universe and on the other emphasises

the spiritual importance of this event in the progress of human thought. One of the *apsarases* is playing on a stringed instrument like the *sārangī* of the present-day. To illustrate the grandeur and beauty of the Prince I show you another slide in which the internal calm and peace of mind are more apparent than in the group photograph shown to you just now. Some European critics have compared this subject with the paintings of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel; but it may be interesting to note that what the Italian master-artists attained in the 15th or 16th century the artists of Ajanta had attained a thousand years earlier.

To illustrate further the spiritual character of the Ajanta paintings I show you another subject in which Yashodhara, the wife of the Buddha, brings Rahula, their son to be blessed by the Buddha after he had attained Enlightenment. I quote here a translation of a passage from a Buddhist sacred text to show how Yashodhara addressed her husband on this occasion:

“O Siddharta, that night Rahula was born you rejected your kingdom and went silently away. Now you have a more glorious kingdom instead.”

Although the figure of the Buddha is somewhat conventional, its colossal dimensions and the expression of holiness on his face, in juxtaposition to the figures of his wife and child, the former with love-light in her eyes, and the latter looking with boyish curiosity and joy at his father, place this fresco for tenderness of human feeling and sublimity of religious thought

among the best works of art in the world.

The artists of Ajanta have painted woman in a variety of most graceful poses, standing, kneeling, sitting and lying. Although they have shown much imagination in painting her yet they have always treated her with respect, and there is no erotic tendency at Ajanta such as we notice in the classic art of Europe, or in the later Brahman sculpture of India. To the artists of Ajanta woman was a source of happiness and delight, and her activities extended to all aspects of domestic life, religious, moral and social. I show you first a representation of Māya, the mother of the Buddha, after she had seen the dream that a little white elephant descended from heaven and entered her body. There are Brahmans before her who have interpreted the dream and congratulated her on the birth of a child who will ultimately become the Buddha, the Enlightened. She is standing in a graceful attitude leaning against a pillar, but her mind is occupied with the dream and its interpretation. The artist has painted her almost nude for she is wearing only a close-fitted short garment on the lower part of the body, but the scantiness of the dress has been cleverly counter-balanced by the profusion of jewelry and the rich coiffure which at once attract the eye. The idea of nudity has further been minimised by the meditative expression of the face. The painter has thus succeeded in depicting all the grace of a nude form without detracting from the religious character of the subject. The figures of the two Brahmans before her are interesting ethnically. Apparently the one sitting in the middle belonged to

Upper India and that close to the Princess to the Western part of the Deccan itself. The subject is painted on the left wall of Cave II which according to some inscriptions belongs to the first half of the 6th century A.D.

There is another subject in this cave, in which the most beautiful figure is of a lady who has placed her head at the feet of a Raja in a pleading manner apparently to beg mercy. The fresco is much damaged but the figure of the lady is more or less intact. In her prostrate attitude the graceful curve of her back, the perfect shading of the right-half of the body, the beautiful design of the *sārī* and the lovely jewelry around the waist, all show art of a high order. There is also a dramatic effect in this painting, for the Raja has unsheathed his sword apparently through anger. The lady close to him has fallen in a very melancholy mood. Another lady of a ruddy complexion has contracted her body in an instinctive manner through fear. Another at the extreme right is running away.

There are some figures painted in the lower part of the wall below this fresco among which the head of a Bhikshu which is unfortunately not clear in this slide, shows a great deal of character.

Among the paintings of women at Ajanta the best is perhaps of a Black Princess, which shows perfect modelling, exquisite decorative treatment and marvellous expression. Although she is painted of a swarthy complexion yet the charm of her graceful figure and fine features is unquestionable. The brown eyes look almost real. The imagination and the artistry of the painter can also be appreciated from

the beauty of the coiffure, the design of the pearl ornaments and the subtle charm of the coils which are spread over the temples and the cheeks. The colour scheme also shows a refined taste for the dark-brown of the body fits in admirably with the olive tint of the background. This figure is painted on the back wall of Cave I, and like the other important paintings of this cave belongs to the 5th century A.D. when the Buddhist art was at its zenith.

For the grace of pose I show you another important painting of Ajanta which is known to artists under the name of the 'Toilet Scene'. A dark princess having completed her toilet is looking at a mirror. Her jewelry and dress show great delicacy of feeling; but the most striking feature is the grace of pose of the lady herself and of her *chauri*-bearer with a ruddy complexion. The background of this picture shows the effect of sun-light on the conventional bands of hills and the foliage of trees, and proves that the artists of Ajanta understood how to enhance the beauty of their paintings by inserting splashes of light at suitable places.

The stories of the previous births of the Buddha have supplied the artists of Ajanta with a wealth of material for the free play of their fancy and the exhibition of their technical knowledge and artistic skill. In these stories the Buddha is sometimes born as a man, sometimes an animal, sometimes a bird and sometimes even a reptile, but the noble qualities of mercy and self-sacrifice always prove him to be the Great Being. Some of the characters represented in the stories are mythical such as *Apsārases* who are heaven-

ly musicians, human in form but possessing power to fly in the air, *Kinnaras*, who have the upper part of their body like that of a human being and the lower that of a bird; and *Nāgas*, who are the spirits of waters and assume the form of a serpent or that of a human being according to their will. These figures are painted frequently on the walls and ceilings of Ajanta caves and some of them possess great beauty.

The next slide represents a group of *Apsārases* constituting the troupe of Indra's musicians. He is descending from the clouds with the party to pay his homage to the Buddha. The figure of Indra has been drawn with great skill. His fair complexion, fine features and bejewelled crown at once show him as the Lord of Heaven. To indicate movement the artist has ingeniously painted the necklace, the strings of pearls and the ear-rings inclined on one side instead of hanging downward. Among the musicians who accompany Indra only five are intact now. Two of them are flying on the same plane with Indra, one of them being of fair complexion and the other ruddy. Both have exquisite features and much womanly grace. I shall show you presently enlargements of these two figures.* These two *Apsārases* are playing on cymbals. On a lower plane than these two musicians is another playing on a flute. Her hair has been dressed in a very pleasing style. At a still lower level there is another musician whose instrument is not visible but she is carrying a tiny basket on her back. The ornamental ribbons tied round her neck are flying backward in order to indicate movement. The hair of this musician is curly and has been dressed

backward in a plain style and not plaited, or tied together in a knot. Behind Indra there is another musician, with a dwarfish figure and irregular features. The nose is particularly ugly. Such figures are purposely brought in by the artists of Ajanta in order to produce a comic effect in the subject. This musician is carrying a stringed instrument probably an *ektāra*. The ribbons, the scarf and the decorative trail of the lower garment of this figure are also stretched backward in order to show movement. The blue and white clouds are conventional.

To the right of this group just below the ceiling are two *Kinnaras* with the feathery tails and claws of a bird and the bust of a human being. These figures also are indistinct in the original painting.

I now pass on to the enlargement of the two *Apsārases* one of which as I have told you before is of a fair complexion and the other ruddy. You yourself can best judge of the skill of the artist in painting these heavenly maidens. In the verandah of Cave XVII on the right wall there are some more *Apsārases*, shown in the act of adoration and bringing offerings to the Buddha. The bust of one of these figures is intact and I show it to you as one of the masterpieces of the art of Ajanta. The *Apsāras* has a headgear resembling a turban, or an elaborate scarf beautifully decorated with flowers and jewels. The artist's love of ornament is also apparent from the lovely pearl necklace, the strings of which are inclined on one side to indicate movement. The ribbons on the back of the figure also convey the same idea. The features have been drawn elegantly and the *Apsāras*

is looking sideways apparently through the pressure of air as one feels when moving fast. The idea of volume has been indicated by deepening the outline of the figure.

I show you another flying figure which is painted on the ceiling of Cave II. It apparently represents a *Yaksha*, for there is no musical instrument in his hands. *Yaksas* were spirits of hills, woods or air, and in some cases attendants of superior deities. The present deity is carrying flowers and a fruit, like a mango, as an offering to the Buddha. The complexion of the *Yaksha* is dark yet the features are beautiful and the high lights on the nose, lips, shoulders and chest and the beautiful design of the loin-cloth have added to the charm of the picture. The clusters of clouds with their fine brush-work and the position of the legs show rapid movement.

In this slide there is another subject which shows a very pleasing device, a conch resting on a lotus flower. The conch apparently represents a deity or some religious symbol. The lotus-flower has been sacred to the Buddhist as well to Brahmans. We find Vishnu holding a stalk of the lotus-creeper and the name of the most prominent Bodhisattva is associated with the flower, i.e., Padmapani. The device shows great beauty of line and an exquisite colour sense. This subject also is painted on the ceiling of Cave II. I show you some more mythical and conventional devices from the ceiling of the same cave. One of them represents a pair of geese. In the *Jātakas* there are several stories showing that the Buddha was born as a golden goose.

In this painting the artistic fancy of the painter has given the bird a conventional tail, which as a decorative motif shows much beauty and delicacy of design. The colour used is red-ochre mixed with lamp-black. The mixture has two shades, the darker of which has been chosen for the background and the lighter for the figures of the birds, so that the drawing may stand out in relief. The outline has been done in white obtained from lime mixed with some gummy substance. In the original painting the designs in white appear a little prominent from the other colours of the painting.

Of the other two devices one represents a boar which is associated with Vishnu and the other a mermaid. The design of the foliated tails of these mythical creatures is the same in all three panels.

The ceilings of Ajanta show a kaleidoscopic variety of motifs and devices representing floral scrolls, jewelry designs, geometric patterns, mythical figures, both human and animal, acrobatic competitions, animal-fights, snake-charmers and Bacchanalian scenes. Many of the floral designs can be copied with advantage and used for modern requirements, in the form of borders for *sārīs* or for the decoration of furniture and utensils of daily use. The School of Art and Crafts which has recently been established in Hyderabad is manufacturing *sārī* borders and silver and copper articles, using freely the Ajanta designs for decorative effect.

One of the most beautiful examples of the decorative art of Ajanta is the ceiling of the shrine of Cave II. In this subject the artist has arranged the floral designs

and conventional devices in the form of concentric belts enclosing them ultimately in a rectangular panel in the spandrels of which the figures of four cherubs are painted. The sweet plumpness of these cherubs remind one of their analogues in the West during the Renaissance period. They are bringing offerings of flowers and fruits to the Buddha. Among the designs of the concentric belts one represents a lotus-vine in which flowers of various types are shown. The skill of the artist in the representation of flowers with all the beauty of their form, the delicacy of their petals and stalks and the charm of their colours, is absolutely marvellous. As this floral design is very rich the artist has painted bands of simple devices in black and white apparently to give rest to the eye. Among these motifs some may be symbolical, such for example the four conches joined by a Swastika-like mark which represented the esoteric doctrine of the Buddha and was adopted by several other faiths. Another device represents a pair of posts or a gateway which may also be symbolical.

The next subject represents floral designs, fruits and mythical creatures in the form of bulls fighting or sporting with one another. On the stalk of a lotus-creeper a parrot is also seen. There are also two bands representing jewelry designs. The colours used by the artist are very soft and the drawing also shows a fine taste.

A real animal-fight is painted above a pillar in Cave I in which two bulls are fighting. The artist seems to have possessed command not only in showing the plastic beauty of the bodies of these animals,

but he has also succeeded in showing the tense feeling which these animals have when engaged in such combats.

I now illustrate a Bacchanalian scene in which a Parthian or Bactrian king is sipping wine in the company of his wife and two other ladies, one of whom is holding a flagon of wine. In the foreground there are two buffoons holding trays of dessert. The features and the dresses of these figures leave no doubt that they are Iranian or Bactrian and for these reasons this fresco for a long time was supposed to represent the Iranian King, Khusru II, who sent an embassy to the Deccan king, Pulakesin II, in the seventh century A.D. But in the paintings of Ajanta foreigners are represented frequently, and as in the time of Asoka the Buddhist religion had penetrated as far North-west as Afghanistan and Bactria, moreover, as the name of Pahlavas, Yavanas and Sakas are often mentioned in the early Indian records, and further as in the 2nd or 1st century B.C., the western Satraps established independent kingdoms in the provinces North of the Deccan and in Kathiawar the appearance of such figures in the paintings of Ajanta is not a matter of surprise. The floral and fruit designs in the corner panels of this subject are excellently drawn, while the pair of geese, who are looking amorously at one another, shows the artist's sympathy with subhuman beings.

By the 6th century A.D. Buddhism seems to have gathered in its folds various types of Indian races whom we find represented in the paintings of Ajanta. I have already shown you a Bactrian king, and now I

place on the screen another subject in which the Buddha is preaching to a congregation. To the right proper of him there are many figures two of which by their features and headgears distinctly represent people of North-west India or of countries adjoining it i.e., Afghanistan and Bactria. For the Indian racial types I show you a scene from the Cāmpeya Jātaka in the foreground of which there are two figures, one apparently representing an inhabitant of Bihar or Benares—with a mixture of aboriginal (Santhal) and Āryan blood, and another an inhabitant of Orissa with Dravidian features. The dresses and the style of the hair of these two figures are very characteristic. The one resembling a Bihar inhabitant is wearing a full-sleeved *angrakha* of an embroidered cloth, and the tuft of hair on the crown of his head and the way of dressing the hair are very typical. I think figures of this type may still be seen in the towns of Bihar and adjoining provinces, although fourteen centuries have passed since this Jātaka was painted on the rock-walls of Ajanta. The long hair of the Oriya and the way in which he has placed the upper part of his *dhōti* on his shoulder and back is also very typical, and these peculiarities may be noticed among the inhabitants of Orissa to-day.

As we are now passing through dreadful days on account of the war you may perhaps be interested to know something of the condition of the Indian army during the 5th century A.D. I show you a scene from the Vidhura Pandita Jātaka in which the *Yaksha* General, Purnaka, is returning with his army to his beloved Irandati, the daughter of a *Nāga* king, to

win whose hand he is taking with him the sagacious Brahmin, Vidhura Pandita. The army consists of both cavalry and infantry. There are also some elephants at the back on which Purnaka and Vidhura Pandita are riding. The footmen are armed with large shields and short curved swords, resembling very much the *kukris* of the Gurkhas. The horses are of a good breed and their harness shows that the trappings required for the control of the animal had been devised. The next slide is an enlargement of a part of this subject and represents the features of the soldiers better. Ethnically they resemble some war-like tribes of the Deccan, particularly the Bedars, who in ancient times made excellent soldiers and whose descendants are still found in the vicinity of Shorapur in the Gulbarga District of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. The present Raja of Shorapur, who is a Bedar and has an aquiline nose, resembles very closely the soldier with a blue sword at the top left corner of this painting.

Against the artists of Ajanta some critics have made the charge that they did not understand perspective. I show you now two subjects, one from Cave XVI and another from Cave I. The subject from Cave XVI represents a circular pavilion in the right half of the fresco and a pillared-hall in the left half. Now it is impossible for one who has no sense of perspective to draw accurately a circular object. In this fresco the circular pavilion is admirably drawn, proving that the artists of Ajanta understood perspective thoroughly. The subject from Cave I represents a scene from the life of the Buddha, *Abhisheka*—a

ceremonial bath. The Buddha is sitting in a pavilion and servants are pouring water over his head. The drawing of the pillars shows depth clearly and the same idea is also conveyed by the position of the different figures which are painted in the fresco.

In this hasty survey I have tried to convey to you an idea of the salient features of the wall-paintings of Ajanta which I may summarise before concluding my discourse. First of all their great spiritual significance and humane feeling, secondly, the perfect command of the artist in painting the figures in the round and giving them a variety of poses, thirdly, a highly refined colour sense, fourthly, a clear vision combined with high technical skill in grouping the figures to produce the desired effect, fifthly, the delight of the artist in all that is beautiful in nature, animate or inanimate, and lastly, the sense of humour and a joyous outlook upon life, notwithstanding the restraints of monastic life. These qualities, however, began to disappear with the waning of the Buddhist religion in the seventh century A.D. and although we see reflections of them in the paintings of Badami and Bagh, but the art there shows clear signs of decadence, and when we come to the times of the paintings of Ellora and Sittannavasal, or still later to those of Tanjore, Cochin and Tirunandik-karai we notice that except conventionality all the beauty and virility of art is gone. In the time of the Mughals there was a revival of the Indian art of painting, but that is of another category, limited principally to miniatures, rather than to a free and bold portrayal of nature and human life in all its aspects.

I may be permitted to say a few words also about the work of preservation which has been carried out at Ajanta in recent years. Through the neglect of centuries and inclemencies of weather the great monasteries and cathedrals there had fallen into a sad state of disrepair. The walls and pillars had decayed, the entrances were choked with debris and silt, the interiors were infested by reptiles, bats and other denizens of the jungle and the frescoes themselves had perished to a large extent, while those which were to be seen on the walls were in a state of rapid deterioration, and gradually falling down in flakes through the pernicious effect of moisture and the mischief wrought by insects. Thanks however to the generosity of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the enlightened policy and personal interest of his able minister, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, the cave-temples have been thoroughly repaired and cleaned and the frescoes therein firmly fixed to the wall and preserved from further decay and ruin.

To preserve the frescoes was not an easy task and to achieve it the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad entered into a long correspondence with experts all over the world, and finally through the courtesy and kind help of the late Lord Curzon, who was then the Foreign Secretary, and Sir Rennell Rodd, then the British Ambassador in Rome, succeeded in securing the services of two expert artists from Italy who came out to India and worked for two years (1920-22) at Ajanta. The work being immense, the Italian experts had as associates some Mechanics of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad, and taught

them during their stay the scientific methods of cleaning and preserving the frescoes. The work done by our own Mechanics is as good as that done by the Italian experts, and as an example I show you a fresco representing a Bhikshu in the act of adoration, which has been cleaned and preserved by the Mechanics of our Department recently. In August last (1940) His Excellency the Viceroy and the Marchioness of Linlithgow visited Ajanta and saw our Mechanics at work in Cave XVII. Their Excellencies were pleased to express their appreciation of the scientific methods which are employed in cleaning and preserving the frescoes.

Further, in order to make access to Ajanta easy His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have constructed bridges and roads and also started a bus service from Aurangabad, which runs twice daily in each direction. For the benefit of ordinary visitors they have also published picture-postcards and guide-books, the latter being in English as well as in several Indian vernaculars; while for the advanced student an authoritative account of the frescoes, accompanied by illustrative plates, based on colour photography, is being printed. Two volumes of this work are already out and the third is passing through the press. His Exalted Highness' Government consider the Ajanta frescoes to be the greatest heritage of Indian culture and art, and as such they recognise their supreme value in the reconstruction of Indian national life, and in the coming renaissance of the art of this country.

THE RISE OF THE RAJPUTS

By BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA

The rise of the Rajputs in the epoch following the death of Harshavardhana and their rule over Northern India till the invasion of Mohammed bin Ghori in 1192 A.D. is an interesting chapter of the social history of India. After the decline of the powers of the Palas, Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas, we find various clans calling themselves Kshatriyas, were carving out principalities all over Northern India. These clans practised the customs of blood-feud and blood-bond, *Noblesse oblige* and honour were regarded as cardinal virtues, again—the pride of birth and clan spirit was too strong with them. A despot was the ruler of the clan, every fighter was of the moss-trooper type and each clan had its hereditary minstrel families to sing their heroic exploits. In short there was a reversal to the ancient tribal days! Further, the Rajputs brought well-defined feudalism with them.¹ Their feudalistic polity and constant tribal fight made them incapable to fuse together and to form a nation. Hence, with the Mohammedan invasion, one by one the Rajput states fell. With their fall the Hindus of North India lost their independence.

¹ P. N. Banerjee—"Public Administration in Ancient India", p. 52.

The name Rajput was unknown in the ancient literature of India. We have seen that the word "Rajanya" had been in use in the Vedic period. Later on the word Kshatriya came in vogue to denote the Varna. But from this time we begin to hear of the Rajputs. The word "Rajput" is colloquial for the Sanskrit form Rajaputra, a son of a raja. Hence it has got the same import as the Vedic word "Rajanya." But it is not the same as the word "Chatrī" the colloquial for Kshatriya. A Rajput is a Chatrī i.e., "Kshatriya," but he is something more than that. He is a member of a well-defined and exclusive social circle. He is a descendant of the 36 families mentioned in the Chand Raj Rāsaū. That is, only the 36 clans tabulated in this book are the accredited Rajputs with whom they inter-marry. Outside this circle there are other groups in different parts of India who also claim to be good Kshatriyas and perform the same function in the society i.e., they are military orders, yet they are not Rajputs. Hence it behoves us to enquire about the Rajputs.

The Rajput is the name to be found in the inscriptions of this epoch to denote generally the ruling Kshatriyas (E.I. XIV, p 159, Ballala Sena inscription). As the rulers of the state they were very much respected. Mr. Vaidya says, "They were first looked upon as even higher than Brahmans. This higher status of the Rajputs described by Arab travellers of the preceding century is not mentioned by Alberuni who speaks more from Hindu law books than from actual observation.....yet they were considered equal to the Brahmans in all respects as Alberuni himself

admits that their degree is not much below that of the Brahmans.”¹ The present-day observers notice the fact that in Rajputana where the Rajputs still rule in a feudal manner, the Rajput is the most superior Varna.

It has been said before that the Rajput society is a closed one. The 36 families or clans formed a closed society and intermarriage was allowed only amongst themselves. Mr Vaidya thus says, “In the usual manner, the Rajput or ruling families of India² constituted themselves into a sub-section about 1100 A.D. by the enumeration of the orthodox pure Kshatriya ruling families of the time. In this enumeration Panjab remained naturally excluded, being then entirely under Mohammedan rule. The Himalayan families.....did not come into enumeration for another reason. The South Indian ruling families were also excluded as they were apparently not considered of pure Aryan race and of Kshatriya descent. The Kshatriya families of Maharastra were.....included as they had continuous marriage relation with the ruling Kshatriya families of Northern India.” Mr. Vaidya further says that the Senas of Bengal are excluded from this list as he thinks they have not established their power in Bengal at that time. But time came, when this group cut off its relations with the Mahrastra group. The Maratha Kshatriyas consequently after this period, including the Silaharas (they are mentioned in 36 Royal clans in Rasa), became a separate group or sub-caste and they too had their own enumeration of 96

¹ Vaidya—History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. III, Pp. 383-384.

² Vaidya, Vol. III, Pp. 383-384, 385.

Maratha families to which marriage was henceforth confined.”¹

Likewise, the ancient Andhras have their own Kshatriyas who are called Raju and Vellala; and they are a group by themselves. Again, there are families in the extreme southern part of India calling themselves Kshatriyas but keeping themselves separate. Finally, in Bengal from the end of the eleventh or the twelfth century we find the Senas who call themselves as *Karnata Brahma-Kshatriyas*.² ‘Ballala-Charita’ of Ananda Bhatta written in the 15th century speaks of the Brahma-Kshatriyas and Rajaputras in Bengal. ‘Sheikh Suvodaya’ another newly discovered Sanskrit book supposed to be written by Halayudha, the reputed minister of Lakshman Sena, but the critics assigning it the date of Todar Mall’s land survey of Bengal, speaks of the “Rajputra” caste. Again, ‘Prembilas’, a piece of Bengal Vaishnavite literature written in the 17th century speaks of the Brahma-Kshatriyas dwelling on the banks of the Padma river. It means, that they were originally connected with the Karnata (South India) country and they were Brahmans who have taken up the profession of Kshatriya and have intermarried with the Chalukyas³. Also, no mention is made of the Palas who were reigning in Magadha (Behar) in that period and who have been intermarrying with the Kshatriyas for a long time.

¹ Vaidya, Vol, III, Pp. 383-384, 385.

² N. G. Mazumder—“Inscription of Bengal”, Vol. III; vide “Madhainagar grant of Samanta Sena”, p. 44.

³ Lakshman Sena’s mother was a Chalukya princess (Tarpandighi plate), Vide Mazumder, p. 114.

Thus it is evident that the Rajputs formed a close group of their own. According to Vaidya this is due to their being pure Kshatriyas of the "Aryan" race. This brings us to the question of their racial origin.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPUTS

Mr. Vaidya suggests that "we may well believe that the Rajputs are the descendants of the Vedic Kshatriyas",¹ and "they have preserved the Gotra and Pravars of the Vedas."² In the same way, he thinks the Maratha caste is of ancient Vedic lineage. Speaking of the Marhattas, Mr. Vaidya says, "These Aryan settlers in Berar and Deccan were Aryans of the Lunar race."³

In order to substantiate the claim of purity of descent from the ancient stock, the test of physical anthropology must be applied to these castes. We have already seen the result that we have got from the data on the Rajputs. As regards the Marathas, Haddon says⁴ that the *Marathi Gati* have average cephalic index of 78.3 and Nasal index of 81.0 and *Sukum Sale Marathi* have average cephalic index of 82.2 and Nasal index 74.0. That is, the former is of mesocephal-mesorrhinian characteristics, while the latter is of brachycephal-mesorrhinian type. Thus we find that there is variance amongst the caste itself! Thus it is evident they are not a homogeneous group. Further, the anthropologists nowadays speak of

¹ Vaidya, Vol. IV, Pp. 49-50.

² Ibid.

³ Vol. I, p. 80.

⁴ Haddon, "The Races of Man", Pp. 107-111.

the presence of a brachycephalic strain of "Eurasian" or "armenoid" element amongst the people of the Bombay Presidency.¹ Again the latest ethnographic report on India speaking about the inter-relations between the peoples of different provinces says that the associations of Western India with the peoples of Northern India is more remote.² On the other hand, it speaks of the wider relationship between the Mahrattas and the Pods (a depressed caste) of Bengal³ !

Thus we cannot say that anthropologically the Rajputs and the Marathas are united. They cannot be said to be the same biotypes. Further, we have said elsewhere that to speak of an Indo-Aryan biotype is a misnomer. Hence the ancient Kshatriyas, the present-day Rajputs and the Marathas cannot be held to be identical in race. The identity of the Gotras and Prabars are no evidences of the racial identity, as other castes have the same identical gotras.⁴ Again, gotras can be changed and new ones can be adopted.⁵ This is happening in present-day India as well.

The Mahrattas of the Deccan have all along been counted as Sudras, though some of the aristocratic families arrogated to themselves as to be the

¹ Haddon; "The Races of Man", Pp. 107-111.

² Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India, Pt. III, Ethnographical by B. S. Guha.

³ Ibid.

⁴ All the Hindu castes of Bengal have the same Gotras and their accompanying Prabaras. But that Brahminical does not entitle them to be Brahmans.

⁵ Vide the Vedic story of Sunasep who when adopted by Visvamitra as his son, adopted his gotra. By adoption every day in India people are changing their gotras. Again through social and religious changes people change their gotras, vide the case of the Lingayates of South India.

descendants of the Rajputs, hence belonging to the ancient Kshatriya class, or directly descended from the last as Mr. Vaidya would make us believe.¹ This question came to a head at the time of the Coronation of Shivaji, the founder of Mahratta Empire. As Mr. Jadunath Sarkar says, "Shivaji and his father-in-law Gaikwar were Mahrattas, i.e., members of a despised caste.....Shivaji keenly felt his humiliation at the hands of the Brahmans to whose defence and prosperity he had devoted his life. Their insistence on treating him as a Shudra drove him in the arms of Balaji Avaji, the leader of the Kayasthas and another victim of Brahmanic pride. Balaji naturally sympathised with his master and tried to raise him in social estimation by engaging Ganga Bhatta who made Shivaji a pure Kshatriya."² But the fact remains that the social status of the Maratha caste within the Hindu orthodox polity of Varnasram is still a matter of dispute, and the Marathas as a caste are not yet accepted by the Brahmans as Kshatriyas. But this claim to Kshatriyaship arose after the rise of the Marathas as an independent nation under Shivaji. The Kunbi³ cultivator who is regarded as a Sudra when became the fighting Maratha and under Shivaji laid the founda-

¹It may be that a few ancient aristocratic Marhatta families were descended from the Rajputs, but that does not entitle them and the whole caste to be Kshatriyas.

²J. N. Sarkar, "Sivaji and his times," Pp. 84-85. Regarding the discussions about the genealogy of Shivaji, the reader is referred to the writings of Mr. Sarkar, Vaidya, S. N. Sen, V. K. Rajwade and Serdesai.

³It seems that there is ethnic connection between the cultivating Kurmi of the U. P. and the Kunbi of the Deccan; the fighting Kunbi—a Maratha. vide Risley—"People of India".

tion of an independent state, then only laid pretensions to the membership of the ancient Kshatriya order ! But this claim has been steadily denied by the Brahmans of the Deccan who were an important class in the same province before the rise of Sivaji, and after his death usurped the political power in their own hands.

Thus we see that only after a struggle, the Marathas were able to claim higher status, but their social struggle with the ruling and fighting Brahmans of the post-Sivaji era left their status undetermined, while in the case of the Rajputs their status was maintained by their political power; hence accepted unanimously by the Brahmans.

This brings us to the question of the social origin of the Rajputs. We have seen already that somatologically they are not a homogeneous group. It is clear that different racial elements have entered in the composition of the Rajput caste; amongst these, the dominant element is the same that is found in the other castes of to-day. For this reason, they cannot be isolated from the rest of the Indians.¹ Hence, it cannot be said that they are a special group. This being so, it behoves us to know more in detail about them.

When North India fell under the domination of the British East India Company and Rajputana accepted the Company as the suzerain power, colonel Tod

¹ Dr. Guha speaking about the "Racial likeness of the Peoples of India" in Indian census of 1931—says that the Pods of Bengal show much wider relationship with the Marathas and the Rajputs as with some other castes outside Bengal, p. vii.

was sent to the Rajput States on a diplomatic mission. He, in his sojourn in Rajputana studied the annals and the traditions of the different Rajput tribes and as a result gave to the outside world the startling news that the Rajputs are the descendants of the ancient invading Scythians and the Huns! Along with it, he informed the outside world the tradition of a sacrifice (Jagna) of the Brahmans at Mount Abu to create the champions of Brahmanism. This is the famous story of the birth of the "Agnikula" Rajputs. Since then, this story is being reiterated everywhere and arguments have been advanced for and against the foreign origin of the Rajputs.¹

But Vaidya says that the "story of Jagna is a poetic fancy occurred in Chand Bardai in Prithwi Raj Rasa." But external evidences may substantiate the tradition.

One of the Agnikula Rajputs is the Parihar Clan, and Bhandarkar² has shown that the Parihars and Pratiharas are the same and we have known the Pratiharas to be a branch of the Gurjaras. Hence, the question arises, since when the Gurjara tribe become Vedic Kshatriyas? The same historian further says³ that the Solankis (Chalukyas), Chauhans (Chahamanas), the Parmars (Paramaras) who complete the list of the Agnikulas were originally divisions of the Gurjaras. To this Hoerle would add the Tomars and

¹ Vide Vincent Smith, Bhandarkar, Vaidya and others. Anthropologists have held different views from those of the historical writers.

² Bhandarkar, J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 1-4, 31-32.

³ Ibid.

Kachhwahas.¹ Again, Ibbetson quotes the account given in the Pulkian States Gazetteer which says "of the various branches of the lunar race (Chandrabanso) the Badgujar (Bargujar), Kacchwaha, and Shaikhawat Khánpis have a common descent."² Again, the same authority quotes Mr. Wilson who notes that the Gujars and the Bargujar tribe of Rajputs are often found together and suggests that the latter may be to the Gujars what the Khanzadahs are to the Meos and what most Rajputs are to the Jats"³ i.e., by being elevated to the aristocratic class they have been separated from the masses and disclaim any connection with the latter. Further, in Nabha, in the Punjab, various Gujar tribes vaguely claim Rajput origin.⁴

Thus, various investigators come to the same conclusion that there is an ethnic connection between the Gurjaras (modern Gujars) and various Rajput clans. Hence the story of purification by the performance of a Jagna by the Brahmans and elevation of the purified groups to the traditional Kshatriya Varna may not be a myth, especially when we see the Hindu society is performing the same function in various places of present-day India. Hindu religion always says that Varna is created according to character (Geeta). Function is the basis of a Varna, hence there is nothing in Hindu society to elevate a new

¹ Bhandarkar, J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 1-4, 31-32.

² "A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces". Based on the Census Report of the Punjab by Late Sir D. Ibbetson, Vol. III. p. 289.

³ Ibid., pp. 310, 312.

⁴ Ibid.

group to one of the traditional Varnas according to the function it performs to the society.

Then we come to the question of the foreign elements amongst the Rajputs. We have said that the anthropologists do not accept the Scythian origin of the Rajputs. But we see that the Western Kshatrapas were completely Brahmanized, and the descendants of Chastana, the founder of the family, who might have been either a Parthian or a Saka had Hindu names. The last of the line was one Rudra Sinha III.¹ The Sakas and many Javanas (Hellenistic people) accepted Brahmanism as attested by archeological discoveries.² It is clear that the Saka Kshatrapas accepted Brahmanism as the Brahman King Pulamayi married the daughter of the Kshatrapa Rudradaman, the grandson of Chashtana³ ! History says that this royal dynasty was put to an end by Chandragupta II in A.D. 388. But this does not signify that all the Sakas living in the Kingdom for more than two centuries were extirpated. History does not bear any testimony to it. If Rudra Simha III was destroyed, surely there were many other men bearing the name of Simha who were the Brahmanized descendants of the original colonists. And exactly within the boundary of the former Saka Satrapy we find that the Jagna of the tradition took place. Again, later we find the Gurjara-Pratihars to have the seat of their

¹ H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, "Political History of ancient India", pp. 388-389.

² Vide the building of Garuda Pillar by the Hellenistic ambassador of a Hellenistic State from the North who named himself as "Parama Bhagavata Heliodora".—Vincent Smith, "Early History of India."

³ H. C. Ray. Chaudhuri, op., cit. pp. 339, 388-389.

empire in the same region. It won't be a wonder that the Brahmans in their eagerness to find their champions against the Jainas and the Buddhists would give religious sanctions as the basis of their elevation to the second Varna of the orthodox polity. Thus it is not impossible that many of the Sakas and the ruling class of the Gurjara tribes became Kshatriyas and got the new appellation, "Rajput." This new name differentiates them at once from the ancient Kshatriyas.¹ The strange thing is that all these neo-Kshatriyas bear the surname *Simha* (colloquial Singh). Hence, there cannot be any wonder that the Kshatrap Rudra Simha and his clansmen might have been the forbears of many of the Rajput Simhas.

Now we come to the question of "Hun" affinity of some of the Rajputs. As said before, it was Tod who first gave the news that there is a clan named "Huna" amongst the Rajputs. But Vaidya contradicts it by saying that in the list of Rajput clans there is no "Huna," it is "Hula".² Further, he says, "Amongst the clans which assisted Bappa Rawal in his fight with the Mohammedans are mentioned both Hunas and Hulas (Vide Tod's Rajasthan by Crooke, Vol. I, p 290). *Hula* was a Rajput clan differentiated from *Hūna*."³ Again he says, "in the Kumarapala-

¹ The Koch tribe of North Bengal after being Hinduized adopted the name "Rajbansi" i.e., belonging to the Royal families. Nowadays they are calling themselves as Kshatriyas. The name "Rajanya" has ancient and "Rajput" modern historical connotations; hence a more pliant and new name was necessary for them. In fact, this new name imports the same meaning as the other has.

² Vaidya, Vol. IV, pp. 23-26.

³ Ibid.

charita list (made by Chandra Gaharwala, 1080-1130 A.D.) of 36 ruling families of Kshatriyas the name *Huna* is mentioned*. In Rasa list, it is called *Hula*.”¹ Further he says, “inscriptions do mention the marriage of Kshatriya Kings with Huna princess.”²

Thus the presence of the Huns even after the defeat and expulsion of Mihira Kula by Yasodharman about 530 A.D. from Western India is attested by these records. In 9-10 centuries A.D. we find the names of the Huns mentioned as mercenary soldiers of the Pala Kings of Bengal.³ It seems that they wandered all over India offering their swords as mercenaries to different potentates. These records naturally presuppose that the Huns who settled down in India have become completely Indianized, and their intermarriage with the Kshatriya Kings attest the fact that they used to have Chieftains of equal rank with the Kshatriya Kings. Hence, it won't be a wonder if we find them taken in the Hindu fold as members of the Kshatriya Varna after some religious ceremony of purification performed by the Brahmans !

Taken all things together, it can be said that there is a possibility that the Sakas, the Hunas and other foreigners who settled down in India, got admittance into the orthodox polity and formed different septs within the Varna in which they were elevated.⁴ The

* Mallinath in his Commentary on Kalidas's *Raghuvansam*, Canto XIV, speaks of the Hunas a Kshatriya tribe.

¹ Vaidya., Vol. III, p. 37.

² Ibid, Vol. II, p. 26.

³ Vide Pala inscriptions published in *Epigraphica Indica*.

⁴ There is a mention of the foreigners settling in Ayodhya and becoming Kshatriyas who got Brahmans to minister their Brahmanic rites (Bd. iii, 48, 29-47, J. R. A. S., 1919, pp. 358-6).

Brahman theologians theoretically degraded them to the status of Sudras¹ but practically we have found them intermarrying with the Brahman and Kshatriya kings! Thus there is a difference between the sanctimonious injunctions of the orthodox Brahmans on paper and actual practice in life.

On these accounts it is probable that with the domination of Brahmanism, the Brahmans made a purification movement to include all the fighting tribes into a new Kshatriya order as they were in urgent need of the supporters of their cause. Hence, as far as Brahmanic religion was dominant, all the foreign and so-called aboriginal tribes were elevated as Kshatriyas and new genealogies were manufactured for them. This makes the neo-Kshatriyas confine their community within the boundaries of Western and Central India. According to the confession of Mr. Vaidya the Punjab was excluded from the list of the Rajput clans, because it was occupied by the Mahomedans, or it may be that the Buddhist Kings were occupying

Later Sagara "defeated the Talajanga Haihayas and regained Ayodhya (Bd. iii, 48, 49, 10). He determined to destroy the foreign tribes, but at their entreaties Vasistha interposed: so Sagara spared their lives but reduced them to great religious and social degradation." (Pargiter, pp. 269-270).

Also Jayaswal speaks of the descendants of the Scythian Kshatrap of Benares, Banaspara living in Bundelkhand. Thus he says, "They were considered low in origin and found it difficult to marry into Rajput families and their position is low still to-day. A dialect Banaphari in Bundelkhand goes by their name. "History of India" in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIX. In central India there is a Rajput clan named Banaphore who, according to the investigation of the writer, indeed find it difficult to intermarry with the other Rajputs. The mediaval Rajput heroes of Mahoba—Ala and Udal were Banaphore Rajputs. But their low position may be due to other factors.

¹ Vide Manu X—43-44; Patanjali 2. 4. 10.

the province at that time. Surely there had been some hindrance working at that time in that place to prevent the Punjab neo-Kshatriyas being included in this new *Sangathan* (reorganization) movement¹. In the East, in Magadha and Bengal, the Buddhist Palas were then¹ dominant, hence this movement could not find ingress in that side. In the South, the Rajus, the Bellalas have already assumed that position. Thus, the dominant clans of the martial peoples living within the jurisdiction of this area were elevated as Kshatriyas, and got the new appellation of "Rajput." For this reason, masses of the Gujars and the Jats and the Ahirs who were outside the ruling clans were not elevated to Kshatriya ranks though the anthropologists find a close kinship between them and the Rajputs.

Then, when the name "Rajput" became respectable enough, and the name cast a glory and a halo of romance over India for the brave and chivalric spirit of the Rajputs, various groups which slowly were aspiring to the Kshatriya Varna began to adopt the name as their caste name. Thus, we find the *Nag-bansi* and *Go-bansi* Rajputs of Chota Nagpur who say that they are descended from a Serpent (Naga) and

¹ The Rajputs of the plain of the Punjab who mostly have become Moslems, have got the same clan names as of Rajputana and the Gangetic valley. This means a migration from these places have taken place in the Punjab. The Rajputs of the Eastern Hills of the said Province are regarded as of lower rank than the Rajputs of Rajputana i.e., they are of different sept. And their "castes" are not yet clearly ossified as they are not yet endogamous (vide Ibbetson). Ibbetson says the term "Rajput" of this place is rather an occupational expression. (p. 362).

² Risley—Tribes and castes of Bengal—Ethnographic glossary, Vol. I, Pp. 184-185.

a Cow (Go).² It is evident that these two animals were the totems of some aboriginal peoples of the locality but who as the landlords of the place arrogated to themselves the ranks of the traditional Kshatriyas and took the newly coined name as their "Caste" name. In the same way, we find the Tipra and the Manipuri ruling families of the eastern hills of Bengal claiming themselves as Kshatriyas and now-a-days associating themselves with the Rajputs as such. On this account, the name Rajput and Kshatriya (colloquial Chatri) have become synonymous in modern India.

IDENTIFICATION OF A SCULPTURE IN THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

By D. P. PANDEY

The slab G58 of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow is unique in its iconographic representation. So far as archaeological discoveries have brought materials to hand, we have not met with a similar example.¹ It was found by Mr. N. C. Mehta I.C.S. in the district of Etah and an account of it was published in the Calcutta Modern Review of July 1933, pp. 43-45. Afterwards it was identified by two scholars, Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, then Curator Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh. The Rai Bahadur has published an account of the "Important sculptures added to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, during the last decade," with plates in the pages of the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Vol. VII, part II, 1935, and Mr. Ghosh

¹ There is an example, though not quite similar, at Osia, 32 miles north of Jodhpur, where there is an old temple adjoining to the house of the local Jagirdar. On two pilasters, projecting from the shrine into the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*, are two images of deities, both seated on *Garuḍa*. Both have four hands, but one of them holds a conch-shell, the mace and the lotus, and other keeps a plough-share and a mace in his two hands, the other two being empty. The last had his head canopied by a five hooded serpent. They are apparently *Vāsudeva* and *Śaṅkarṣaṇa*. The temple cannot be later than the ninth century A.D. Bhand. Vai. Śai. p. 64; Annual Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Western circle for 1903-04, p. 21.



LUCKNOW MUSEUM SCULPTURE

skilfully identified this sculpture, in the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, vol. II, 1936, No. 1.

Before we examine the identifications offered by the scholars we propose to identify the images represented in the slab as Balarāma, Rukmiṇī and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The peculiarity of this sculpture is to represent the gods and the goddess carefully keeping their originality in sight. The other thing, which is rather striking in this sculpture is the prominent position of the goddess which seems was intentionally given to her.

In early times Saṅkarṣaṇa alone is found worshipped with Vāsudeva, the supreme god of the Bhāgavata cult, Viṣṇu. The worship of Vāsudeva and Baladeva (Saṅkarṣaṇa) together is earlier than the fourth century B.C. Their worship is mentioned in the Niddesa, which though of the nature of a commentary, is regarded as one of the books of the Pali Buddhistic canon.¹ In the inscription found at Ghosundi in Rajputana,² which unfortunately is in a mutilated condition, the construction of a wall round a hall of worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva is mentioned. From the form of the characters in the inscription it appears to have been engraved at about 200 B. C. And, in the discussion on Bahuvrihi compounds, Paṇ. II, 2, 23, the following occurs in the Mahābhāṣya: 'संकर्षणद्वितीयस्य बलं कृष्णस्य वर्धताम्' "may the power of Kṛṣṇa assisted by Saṅkarṣaṇa increase," and also II, 2, 34, a verse, in which is stated

¹ Ibid. p. 3.

² Lüders, List of Brahmi inscriptions, No. 6.

that, certain musical instruments are sounded in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava. Here Rāma and Keśava are Balarāma and Vāsudeva.¹ But before the existence of Harivamśa, vv. 5876-5878; Vāyu Purāṇa, chap. 98, vv. 100-102; and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, II, 7, there is no allusion to the Cowherd-Kṛṣṇa in the authorities quoted before. Even in many passages in the Mahābhārata² Kṛṣṇa's divinity is denied and Sañjaya and Bhīṣma make strenuous efforts to establish it. But however, it is certain that Gopāla Kṛṣṇa was identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa before the seventh century of the Christian era.³ We can, therefore, safely conclude that Rukmiṇī, spouse-in-chief of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa must have been exalted to the place of Lakṣmī by that time. We shall see it later on, how the artist of this sculpture has skilfully tried to show the uniformity of the goddess Rukmiṇī with Lakṣmī.

According to Vaikhānasāgama the image of Mānuṣa-Vāsudeva should be in accordance with madhyama-daśatāla measure of 120 aṅgulas; it should be only two-armed or sometimes four-armed, carrying the Śaṅkha and the Chakra. On the right side there should be the goddess Rukmiṇī and to her right there should be Balarāma holding the plough (hala), and the rice-pestel (musala).⁴

¹ Because the cult of Rāma did not exist before the eleventh century of the Christian era. Bhand. op. cit. p. 66.

² Dr. Muir, O. S. T. IV. pp. 205 ff.

³ According to Prof. Winternitz, earlier Purāṇas must have come into existence before the 7th century. See Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 5.

⁴ Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Pratimalakṣaṇāni, p. 65.

“अथ मानुसं वासुदेवं आश्रये, विमाने मध्यमं दशतालमितं सविंशति-
शताङ्गुलं द्विभुजं चक्रशंखधरं दक्षिणे रुक्मिणीदेवीं तद्दक्षिणे हलमुसलधरं
बलभद्रं ।

The arrangement of the images in this sculpture is in accordance with this description. We should now identify the images individually. Viṣṇudharmottaram is of opinion that the image of Vāsudeva should have one face and four arms, it should have great beauty and fine appearance and be of the dark blue colour of a cloud, adorned with all the various ornaments, and clad in yellow garments. His neck resembling in its round contour, the śaṅkha, is adorned with necklaces of excellent workmanship; and the Vanamālā should be suspended so as to reach the knees. The cloth tied round the loins should descend as far down as the knees. Kuṇḍala should adorn his beautiful ears, and reflect their lustre on the neck. On the arm should be worn the aṅgada and keyūra; and on the chest, the jewel Kaustubha. The head should be covered with a kirīṭa and behind it there should be the Śiraśchakra, in the form of a well-shaped lotus. The arms of Vāsudeva should be long and well formed, and the fingers of the hands tipped with nails dyed red. In one of his right hands Vāsudeva should keep a full-blown lotus, and in one of his left hands the śaṅkha in natural form. To the right should stand the personified Gadā as goddess with slender waist, large hips, and a very pretty appearance. She should possess two bright playful eyes and be decked with numerous ornaments. She should hold a chamara in one of her hands. On the left side of Vāsudeva should stand the personified

figure of Chakra, a male figure with a big hanging belly and round open eyes. This figure also should be adorned with various ornaments, holding a chamara in his hand, and be shown to evince a desire to be ever gazing in adoration to his Lord. The other left hand of Vāsudeva, should be placed upon the personified figure of Chakra.¹

एक वक्त्रश्चतुर्बाहुस्सौम्यरूपस्सुदर्शनः ।
 पीताम्बरश्च मेघाभस्सर्वाभरणभूषितः ॥
 कण्ठेन शुभदेशेन कम्बुतुल्येन राजता ।
 वराभरणयुक्तेन कुण्डलोत्तरभूषिणा ॥
 अङ्गदी बद्धकेयूरी वनमालाविभूषणः ।
 उरसा कौस्तुभं विभ्रत् किरीटं शिरसा तथा ॥
 शिरः पद्मस्तथैवास्य कर्तव्यश्चारुर्कणिकः ।
 पुष्टिश्लिष्टायतभुजस्तनुस्ताम्रनखाङ्गुलिः ॥
 देवश्च कटिवासेन कार्यो जान्ववलम्बिना ।
 वनमाला च कर्तव्या देवजान्ववलम्बिनी ॥
 यज्ञोपवीतं कर्तव्यं नाभिदेशमुपागतम् ।
 उत्फुल्लकमलं पाणौ कुर्याद् देवस्य दक्षिणे ॥
 वामपाणिगतं शंखं शंखाकारं तु कारयेत् ॥
 दक्षिणे तु गदा देवी तनुमध्या सुलोचना ।
 स्त्रीरूपधारिणी मुग्धा सर्वाभरणभूषिता ॥
 पश्यन्ती देवदेवेशं कार्या चामरधारिणी ।
 कुर्यात्तन्मूर्ध्नि विन्यस्तं देवहस्तं तु दक्षिणं ॥
 वामभागगतश्चक्रः कार्यो लम्बोदरस्तथा ।
 सर्वाभरणसंयुक्तो वृत्तविस्फारितेक्षणः ॥
 कर्तव्यश्चामरकरो देववीक्षणतत्परः ।
 कुर्याद्देवकरं वामं विन्यस्तं तस्य मूर्ध्नि ॥

This image illustrates the appropriateness of the description of Vāsudeva given by the authority.

¹ Rao, loc.cit., p. 69.

The upper two hands of the god hold something which unfortunately is too damaged and therefore not rightly distinguishable. But we can easily see in the upper right hand the play-stick, characteristic of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. The object in the upper left hand is broken off, it might be a śaṅkha, as we see in the description, as an article for that hand.

The Vaikhānasāgama lays down a very appropriate description of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmīṇī. This authority is of opinion that the figure of Kṛṣṇa should be made according to the Madhyama-daśatāla measure of 120 aṅgulas in height. The complexion of the image of Kṛṣṇa should be black, the colour of his garments red and adorned with various ornaments. It should have made to have a kirīṭa on the head or it should be shown that the hair is tied up in a knot on the top of the head. In the right hand the play-stick should be carried, and the left arm should be lifted up and bent at the elbow; the palm of this hand has to be facing downwards. This hand may carry a śaṅkha also. On the right side of Kṛṣṇa there should be the image of Rukmīṇī, gold yellow in complexion, her hair should be shown as tied up in a fashionable knot and adorned with flowers or ornaments. The right hand should be hanging down and in the left hand a lotus flower should be held.¹

“मध्यमं दशतालमितं सविंशतिशतांगुलं द्विभुजं वामोद्यतकरकर्पूर-
ह्रिकासूत्रादधस्तादधोर्ध्वकरम्. . . । दक्षिणे रुक्मिणीदेवीं हेमाभां धम्मिल्ल-
कुन्तलयुतां उद्वद्धकुन्तलां वा प्रसारितदक्षिणहस्तां सपद्मवामहस्तां कारयेत् ।
देवस्य दक्षिणहस्तं लीलायष्टियुतं वामं सशंखं वा कारयेत् ।

¹ Ibid., p. 45.

This description leaves no doubt that the image of the goddess at the right side of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is that of Rukmiṇī. But in Hindu iconography it is unusual to find a female goddess more prominently represented than her consort in the same sculpture. Here the gods are represented on a bare throne but the goddess is placed on a lotus. Why is this difference? The answer will be clear if we compare the description of an image of Lakṣmī given in Viṣṇu-dharmottara, Hemādrikhaṇḍa. According to this authority the figure of Lakṣmī should have only two hands when she is by the side of Viṣṇu. She should have precious garments and should be adorned with all sort of ornaments. She should be seated or stand upon a lotus of eight petals placed on a simhāsana. “पद्मपीठोपरिष्ठात् आसीना वा स्थितापिवा”¹. In the right hand she should hold a lotus with a long stalk.

हरेस्समीपे कर्तव्या लक्ष्मीस्तु द्विभुजा नृप ।
 दिव्यरूपाम्बरधरा सर्वाभरणभूषिता ॥
 गौरी शुक्लाम्बरा देवी रूपेणाप्रतिमा भुवि ।
 सिंहासनस्थं कर्तव्यं कमलं चारुकर्णिकम् ॥
 अष्टपत्रं महाभाग कर्णिकायां तु सा स्थिता ।
 बृहन्नालं करे कार्यं तस्याश्च कमलं शुभम् ॥

Rukmiṇī is no other than Lakṣmī in Harivaṁśa (Chap. 109) and other later Purāṇas.

“रुक्मिणी नाम ते कन्या न सा प्राकृतमानुषी ।
 श्रीरेषा ब्रह्मावक्येन जाता केनापि हेतुना ॥

Now we have seen how this goddess is distinct from and uniform with Lakṣmī. The main image

¹ Op.cit., p. 134.

at the right side of the goddess is that of Balarāma. Vaikhānasāgama is of opinion that the image of Balarāma should be sculptured according to madhyama-daśatāla measure consisting of 120 aṅgulas in height. The figure of Balarāma should carry the musala in the right hand and hala in the left. His complexion should be white and the colour of his garments red. His figure should have the hair tied up in knot on the top of the head. At the right hand of Balarāma, should be standing the figure of his wife, Revatī Devī, of yellow complexion. She should be shown as clothed in puṣpa-vastra, a term which may mean a cloth in which floral designs are worked out or a garment composed of flowers, but the former interpretation is more appropriate. The hand of Revatī Devī is left down hanging while the right is shown as carrying a lotus flower.¹

“अथ बलभद्ररामं, मध्यमं दशतालमितं, द्विभुजं, त्रिनतं, दक्षिणेन हस्तेन मुसलधरं वामेन हलधरं, श्वेताभं, रक्तवस्त्रधरं, उद्वद्धकुन्तलं, दक्षिणे रेवतीदेवीं पद्मकिजल्कवर्णां पुष्पाम्बरधरां, दक्षिणेन हस्तेन पद्मधरां प्रसारित-वामहस्तामेवं कारयेत् ।

We are not sure that the figure at the right side of the god is Revatī Devī or any ordinary female pārṣada. According to Agni Purāṇa (Chap. 49), Baladeva should have four hands and should bear a mace and a plough. In his left upper hand should be the plough and in the lower part of the same the śaṅkha.

“गदालाङ्गलधारी च रामो वाऽथ चतुर्भुजः ।

वामोर्ध्वे लाङ्गलं दद्याद्धशंखं सुशोभनम् ॥

¹ Ibid., p. 44.

Though the upper left hand with its article is unfortunately mutilated yet there is sufficient to recognise that the article was a plough. Balarāma also is mentioned as an incarnation of the Śeṣa. "धारयेत्तु फणाग्रेण सोऽनन्तो बलसंज्ञकः" (Skanda Purāṇa, Viṣṇu Khaṇḍa, Puruṣottama Māhātmya; and Mahābhārata, I, 2786, 7117, 7155, 7308).

We should now examine the identifications offered by two eminent scholars, Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal and Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh. According to the Rai Bahadur, "This slab (3'.4"×23") carved in deep relief depicts a group of three figures which may tentatively be described as Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa has a seven hooded canopy significant of his Śeṣāvatāra and his four arms, like his brother Rāma on the corresponding end, holding the musala attributes of Viṣṇu. This central figure may be Sītā or Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu, standing like Rāma, with a nimbus of lotus design on a lotus seat and holding a lotus stalk in her hand. The open palm of the right bears a lotus mark and is let down in Varadamudrā or boon-giving posture. According to general practice she should have been placed to the left of Rāma, but probably for the sake of symmetry the artist has put her to the right of Rāma in defiance of law of custom."

The tentative identification by the Rai Bahadur is not a satisfactory one. The arrangement of the images proposed by the scholar neither follows the old traditions of Āgamas or Purāṇas nor modern general practice. According to Vaikhānasāgama, Sītā can be placed on the right side of Rāma, but then

the position of Lakṣmaṇa must be on the left side of his brother.¹ The identification would have been different if the Rai Bahadur had examined the articles held by the gods.

In the opinion of Mr. Ghosh, the middle female figure between the two gods is the goddess Ekānamśā.

First of all let us see, who is the goddess Ekānamśā who has such a prominent position between the two gods of the Bhāgavata cult? It is the Harivaṁśa (Chap. 58), which brings her first into light, and afterwards she is mentioned in connection with the birth of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in the other Purāṇas also with a slight difference. It is related that Viṣṇu descended into the Pātāla, and asked the Sleep in the form of destroying time, Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī, (Hari. Chap. 58, v. 3337), to become the daughter of Yaśodā. She is told, that when Kāṁsa, with the intention to kill her will throw her on a stone, she should escape to the sky and assume four arms, holding trident, sword, wine cup and lotus in them and would become Kauśītakī, and would have a permanent residence on the Vindhyā mountain. There she was told that she would kill Śumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped in animal sacrifices. In the Mahābhārata² she is mentioned as Kuhū, and Ekānamśā, daughter of Aṅgīrasa. In Virāṭaparva (Chap. 6)

¹ Ibid., p. 44.

² महामखेष्वाङ्गिरसी दीप्तिमत्सु महामते ॥

महामतीति विख्याता सप्तमी कथ्यते सुता ॥७॥

यान्तु दृष्ट्वा भगवतीं जनः कुहुकुहायते ।

एकानंशेति तामाहुः कुहुमङ्गिरसः सुताम् ॥८॥

Mahabh. Vanaparvan, Chap. 217.

there is a hymn sung by Yudhiṣṭhira in her praise, but it is probably an interpolation as it does not exist in the principal southern MSS.¹

There is no other iconographical literature than the *Bṛhatsamhitā* where we find her mentioned.² It is sure, that at the time of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, i.e., in the sixth century A.D., her worship was prevalent; as *Varāhamihira* in his short chapter on *Pratimālākṣaṇa*, consisting of 58 śloka only devotes three verses to the description of this goddess.

But so far as description is concerned, we are not in a position to identify her in this sculpture. Only one, the first line out of six, tallies with this image. Even Mr. Ghosh accepts its inaccuracy; but according to him, it is slight and immaterial. What it is in reality, is left for the decision of our readers. In conclusion, however, we can safely point out that in this sculpture the middle figure between *Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma* is *Rukmiṇī*, in the form of *Lakṣmī*, not *Ekānarmśā*.

¹ Bhandarkar, op.cit., p. 203.

² एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेवकृष्णयोर्मध्ये ।

कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्वहती ॥३७॥

कार्या चतुर्भुजा या वामकराभ्यां सपुस्तकं कमलम् ।

द्वाभ्यां दक्षिणपार्श्वे वरमथिष्वक्षसूत्रं च ॥३८॥

वामेष्वष्टभुजायाः कमण्डलुश्चापमम्बुजं शास्त्रम् ।

वरशरदर्पणयुक्ताः सव्यभुजाः साक्षसूत्राश्च ॥३९॥

TWO MITHILA MSS. ON TANTRA AND YOGA

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

Medieval Hinduism and its successor, modern Indian orthodoxy are largely Tantrik. Some of the fundamental concepts regarding worship, images, initiation, yoga, the necessity of Guru and sādhanā are based on Tantra. Popular misunderstanding about the nature and scope of Tantra has been exposed by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) in the Preface to the 'Principles of Tantra,' Part I, pp. vii-xxiii.¹ Ward,² Wilson,³ and Hodgson⁴ considered the Tantra as "lust, mummcry and black magic."⁵ As Arthur Avalon pointed out, their disdain for "meaningless mystical syllables," "absurd gesticulations" was after all, nothing but the rather foolish expression of annoyance felt at the presence of something not understood. They are not in themselves so senseless as some suppose. Arthur Avalon's remark "that no European scholar has read the "Tantra" even 'approximately'" is amply borne out by their absurd explanations of Tantric formulae like "*Pītvā pītvā punaḥ pītvā*" and "*Mātr̥yonim̐ parityajya vibaret sarva-yoniṣu*" as ordaining drunkenness and incest.

¹ *The Tantratattva*, London, 1914.

² "A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus," 1818.

³ "Essays", 1862.

⁴ Nepal.

⁵ Cf. Wilson, *op.cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 77.

The seventeen volumes of Tantra texts and treatises on Tantric Precepts and Principles prepared and published under the auspices of the Āgamānusandhāna-Samiti of Calcutta, under the guidance of Arthur Avalon and with the encouragement of the late Maharajadhiraja Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, the President of the Samiti, may be claimed as the first serious attempt to study Tantra. After about twenty years of strenuous work, this first attempt (from 1913- to 1933) shows signs of slackness. In the meantime, a large number of MSS. on Tantra has been brought to light, specially in Mithila, Nepal and Tibet. The time seems ripe to follow up the initiative of Sir John Woodroffe.

The Tantra MS. described below is valuable in giving in a short compass the interpretations of the most popular Tantrik Nyāsa and Vija dismissed by Wilson as "monosyllabic ejaculations of imagined mysterious import." The Tantra under notice being late, helps us to understand the present beliefs of the Indian peoples, the Tantrik doctrine and practice as it is at present understood and followed. It has to be borne in mind that the internal constitution of the Hindu religion has not been exempt from those varieties to which all human systems of belief are subject, and it has undergone great and frequent modifications, until it presents an appearance which there is great reason to suppose is very different from that which it originally wore." The present MS. shows different schools of Tantra as complementary to one another.

The terminology is well-known to Tantra.

Chapters XXIII and XXV of the *Śāradūtilakatantra*¹ describe how by the fifty letters of the Alphabet which are constantly emanating from Mahāḥ the Supreme, is this universe of moving and motionless objects, of sound and the meaning thereof, pervaded. The Vedantist calls it Śabda-brahman.

“Prayogeṣu samākhyātaḥ prāṇamantro maṇiṣibhiḥ.”

Śāradā, Ch. XXIII, 76

The relation between the Sādhaka and his Śakti in this MS. bears a close resemblance to the description in Chapters X, XI and XII of the *Kālivilāsatāntra*.² Similarly Dikṣā as propounded in the present MS. follows closely Chapters I-III of *Ṣaṭcakanirūpaṇa*³ and *Pādukā-Pañcaka*⁴. The acts of the Guru and the Sādhaka remind one of the instructions in Chap. I of *Kulacuḍāmaṇitantra*.⁵ The author of the Mithila MS. has also drawn freely upon the *Mahānirvāṇatantra*⁶ and *Prapañcasāra*.⁷ The eclectic nature of this handbook of Tantra is confirmed by its adoption of some of the Sādhanas⁸ from the later Yāmalaś.⁹

¹ Tantrik Texts edited by Arthur Avalon, Vol. XVII. 1933.

² Edited by Pārvatī Charaṇa Tarkatīrtha, 1937.

³ Edited by Tārānātha Vidyāratna, 1913.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Edited by Akshaya K. Maitra, 1915.

⁶ Translated by A. Avalon.

⁷ Edited by Tārānātha Vidyāratna, 1914.

⁸ Sādhanamālā, Vol. I-II, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Nos. XXVI and XLI.

⁹ Cf. Chap. XVII of *Kulārṇavatāntra*, ed. by Tārānātha Vidyāratna, 1917.

The two MSS. described below were discovered during our search for Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in Mithila and brought to my notice by Pandit Vishnu Lal Shastri.

बीजनामानि ॥ *Vijanāmāni*.

In a short compass the text explains the content and esoteric significance of the most popular Tantrik incantations.

Substance:—Character, Maithilī. White paper. Lines, 8 on a page. Letters, 46 in a line. Folio, 2.12 × 4½ inches. Appearance, fresh. Verse. Complete. Correct. Date? Place of deposit, Pandit Gaurikānta Jhā, Rahikā, P. O. Rahikā, Darbhanga. Anonymous.

Beginning:—अथ बीजनामानि ।

लक्ष्मीः पद्मा हरिण्याक्षी सरोरुहनिवासिनी ।
 कमलारुक्मिणीचैव नारायणप्रियापिच ॥ श्रीं ॥
 पराभूतिस्तथा लज्जा मायापि सकला कृशा ।
 समस्तापि तथा क्षामा कृत्तिमाप्यपराणि तु ॥ ह्रीं ॥
 कामं पञ्चेषुरेवञ्च मदनो मन्मथस्तथा ।
 मारः कन्दर्पप्रद्युम्नावनृतान्यपराणि च ॥ क्लीं ॥
 वाग्भवं ऊर्ध्वबीजञ्च चारणं चण्डिकेश्वरः ।
 चन्द्रोऽपि चर्मवसनं वासनापि तथैव च ॥
 चार्वाङ्ग्यपि च चर्माणमसत्यान्यपराणि च ॥ ऐं ॥
 शक्तिः शर्मापि विज्ञेये शरच्छंके तथैव च । सौं ।
 प्रणवञ्च तनुस्तारं त्र्यक्षं तोमापि त्र्यम्बकः ।
 आसस्तारक एतानि बीजानि प्रणवस्य च ॥ ओं ॥
 आपोवनं तथा नीरं ठद्वयञ्च पयस्तथा । स्वाहा ॥
 नमो विश्वंस्तथा स्तम्भसौक्ष्मकमश्मरी तथा । नमः ॥
 स्कन्धं व्योषश्च डिवञ्च संयोज्य हरमित्यपि । ह्रां ॥

कान्ता च कमलाक्षी च प्रियापि परमापि च ।
 रम्भापि ललना रामा ह्यसत्यान्यपराणि च ॥ स्त्रीं ॥
 कूर्चं कूलनटं तीरं असत्यान्यपराणि तु ॥ हं ॥
 फट् हन्तु रणं चान्यदसत्यन्तु सुरेश्वरि । फट् ॥
 मन्त्रनाम । मन्त्रं मनुर्हरञ्चैव हनुर्बलिं विदुर्बुधाः ।
 सिन्दूरं गजघोणा च हस्तिनं द्विरदं तथा ।
 फ्रां वीजानि च चत्वारि कृत्रिमान्यपराणि च ॥ फ्रां ॥
 शून्यं खमम्बरं व्योम आं वीजञ्च चतुष्टयम् ।
 हकारञ्चैव विज्ञेयं उक्तञ्च रुद्रयामले ॥ आं ॥
 कल्याणं चैव शर्मापि शम्भवञ्च चतुष्टयम् । सौः शञ्च ।

शर्मवीजौ द्वौ सौः शं च.

अग्निर्वह्निस्तथा रेफो हुतभुक्च तथाऽजलः । रं ॥
 काली कुन्ती रजज्ञापि जिह्वापि रसना तथा ॥ क्री ॥
 बागुरा वायुपूज्यापि वार्त्ता दास्या त्रिवीजकम् । प्री ॥
 चारुकञ्चैव चार्वाङ्गी चारुतोच्छूनवीजकम् । छीं ॥ चार्वाङ्गी वीजौ द्वौ छीं ऐं च.
 पद्मं पङ्कजपयोजौ च नीरजञ्चाम्बुजन्तथा । ठः ॥
 भद्रिका भास्वती भीमा भें वीजस्य त्रयं स्मृतम् । भें ॥
 त्र्यक्षं भं तारका ज्योतिस्तारावीजानि पञ्च च ॥ व्रुं त्रां त्रों ॥
 बाल्हीकं मठसंज्ञं च हिङ्गुवीजं मुनीश्वरः ।
 ग्लौं वीजोद्धारमेतद्धि हिङ्गुनाम्ना प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ ग्लौं ॥
 तमो वीजं तथा ध्वान्तं मोहं तिमिरमेव च ।
 लम्बीजोद्धारमेतच्च तमोवाचकमेव च ॥ लं ॥
 चन्द्रः शीतांशुरिन्द्रश्च शर्वरीपतिरेव च ।
 ताराधिपः सुधारश्मिश्चन्द्रपर्यायवाचकः । द्रां ॥ चन्द्रवीजौ द्वौ द्रां ऐं च.
 स्तनवीजं कुचञ्चैव मुरजो हृज्जमेव च
 जम्बीजानि तथैतानि ऊर्मिवीजाभिधानि च ॥ जं ॥
 शिववीजं शम्भुश्च सर्वः शंकर एव च ।
 गम्बीजानि च चत्वारि तथा शूल्यभिधानि च । गं ॥
 इच्छावीजं स्पृहाकांक्षा लिप्सावीजञ्चतुष्टयम् ॥ भं ॥
 नर्तकीवीजमत्युग्रवेश्यापि गणिका तथा ।
 पण्यस्त्री पञ्च वीजानि स्त्रीं वीजस्याभिधानि च । स्त्रीं ॥
 छविवीजं कीर्त्तिवीजं शोभापि सुषमा तथा । हां ।

शुक्रबीजं तथा काव्यो भार्गवः कविबीजकम् । ब्रों । शुक्रबीजौ द्वौ ब्रों लृ च ॥
 अभ्रबीजं च जीमूतमम्बुभृज्जलमुक्धनम् ।
 वं बीजमिति विख्यातं मेघपर्यायवाचकम् । वं ॥
 अन्धिवीजं तथा सिन्धुः पाथोधिः सागरस्तथा ।
 रुम्बीजमिति पाथोधेर्नामभिः परिकीर्तितम् ॥ रं ॥
 कल्पबीजं च सम्बर्त्तप्रलयं क्षयबीजकम् ।
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 अम्बरं वस्त्रबीजञ्च शून्यं शक्तिरिति द्वयम् ।
 हरितं हरिणीबीजं हरिद्राबीजमेव च । ह्सौः ॥ अम्बरबीजौ द्वौ ह्सौः आं च ॥
 षडाननः शरजन्मा स्कन्दः कौमारबीजकम् ।
 शाम्भवः शालिनीबीजं तथा षण्मुखबीजकम् । डं ॥
 नाद्यबीजञ्च नटनं ताण्डवं नृत्यबीजकम् । चं ॥
 वेधोबीजं विधिर्ब्रह्मा स्वयम्भूबीजमेव च ॥ कं ॥
 गर्जितं स्वनबीजश्च स्तनितं रसितं तथा । टं ॥
 वृष्टिबीजं च करकं वर्षोपलस्तु वार्षिकम् । कूं ॥
 आत्मबीजमकारं च स्वान्तं हृद्बीजमेव च ।
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 शून्यं खमम्बरं व्योम वैष्णवं चेति भाषितम् । आ ॥
 इन्द्रबीजं तथा जिष्णुर्मरुत्वान्मघवा हरिः । इ ॥
 बुद्धिबीजं तथा मेधा धीबीजं च मतिस्तथा ।
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 रतिबीजं तथा नन्दा वामनं क्ष्वान्तबीजकम् । उ ॥
 कचबीजं तथा केशं शिरोरुहञ्च मूर्ध्वजम् ।
 ऐन्द्रवं चापि विज्ञेयं केशपाशीयबीजकम् ॥ ऊ ॥
 पाप्मबीजं तथा पापमघसं किल्बिषन्तथा ।
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 त्यक्तबीजं जगद्बीजं गोवं प्रोक्तं मया प्रिये । लृ ॥ विश्वबीजौ द्वौ लृ नमश्च ॥
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वाग्भवं ऊर्ध्ववीजञ्च चारणं चण्डिकेश्वरः ।
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End

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Colophon:—wanting.

विषयः तत्तद्विज्ञानां तान्त्रिकपर्यायाः ॥

Previous Notice:—It does not appear to have been noticed before in any other MSS. Catalogue.

सूक्ष्मस्वरोदयप्रकरणम् ॥ *Sūkṣmasvarodayaprakaraṇam*

The treatise traces many of the common Hindu rites and customs to the influence of the planets on human, animal, mineral, and plant life.

Substance:—Character, Maithilī, White paper. Lines, 6 on a page. Letters, 24 in a line. Folio, 5.7½ × 3 inches. Appearance, old. Verse, Complete. Incorrect. Date? Place of deposit, Babu Bhagīratha Thākura, Sajhuar, P.O. Bahera, Darbhanga. Anonymous. An extract from Brahmaya-mala mentioned in Tri. Cat. Vol. III, pt. I. B. P. 3654—इति ब्रह्मयामलीय-स्वरोदये हंसचारो नाम द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

Beginning:—ओं नमो गणेशाय ॥

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Calophon:—इति सूक्ष्मस्वरोदयप्रकरणं समाप्तं ॥

विषयः । चन्द्रसूर्यनाडीप्रवाहतः सकलशुभाशुभज्ञानकथनम् ॥

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P. 3654.

Miscellaneous Articles

THE JÑĀNA-SVARODAYA OF DARIYĀ SĀHAB

By DHARMENDRA BRAHMACHARI SASTRI

‘Jñāna-svarodaya’ is one of the most important treatises of the religious order founded by Dariyā Sāhab who flourished in Dharkandhā (Shahabad, Bihar) from the latter part of the 17th century to the latter part of the 18th Century A.D. He may be ascribed to the Nirguṇa School of Hindī poetry. His poems, about twenty in number including the one under consideration, have remained mostly unpublished till now. A tentative sketch of the life and works of Dariyā Sāhab, by the writer of these lines has appeared in an issue of the J. B. O. R. S.¹

The subject-matter of Jñāna-svarodaya deals with:—

I—God; II—The Body; III—Soul; IV—The World and the Maya; V—Emancipation; VI—Heaven and Hell; VII—Devotional Love and Mystical Ecstasy; VIII—The True Saint or “Darveśa”; IX—Main Disciplines of the order:—(a) Temperance; (b) non-violence; (c) Self-control; (d) Pridelessness and Poverty; X—“Saroda” (Svarodaya) Proper:—(a) The Doctrine of the Elements; (b) The Doctrine of the Breaths.

¹ Vol. XXIV, Part IV, (December 1938). Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

“Gyāna-saroda,” the correct form of which is “Jñāna-svarodaya,” is one of the most important treatises written by Dariyā Sāh. The following analysis of its subject-matter is based on two MSS. of the text, written in Kaithi alphabet, one of which was preserved in the Mannoo Lall Library at Gaya and the other in a *maṭha* (hermitage) of a *Dariyāpanthī sādhu* (saint) at village Sisain, P.O. Baniapur, Distt. Saran (Bihar). The name “svarodaya” (Svara+udaya) itself needs explanation. Though the book deals with all sorts of philosophical and religious topics, special significance attaches to the portion which contains the doctrine of “svara” (always written as “sura”),—a technical term denoting the breath of the nostril. Hence the name “saroda,” the abbreviated and corrupt form of “Savrodaya.”

“Gyāna-saroda” is a poem composed in couplets called “sākhi” and “chaupāi”, and is a free translation of an original poem in Persian, “Dariyā-nāmā”, written by the same author,—a fact acknowledged by Dariyā Sāhab in the last lines of “Jñāna-svarodaya” itself.¹

Dariyā Sāhab attached a great importance to this work of his. It is, according to him, “the nucleus of the four Vedas,”² and was inspired by God. He is very fond of expressing, directly or indirectly, the pun on the word “dariyā,” which is his name and which also signifies an “ocean.” He says that the “ocean”

¹ दरियानामा पारसी, पहिले कहा किताब ।

सो गुन कहा सरोद में, गहिर ज्ञान गरकाब ॥ G. S. 394

² चारि बेद को मूल G. S. 2

is “unfathomably deep and is the origin of gems and pearls”¹ and the mystery of it is known only to the few that receive enlightenment and inspiration from God.

The principal terms used to denote God are—*satpuraṣa*, *satguru*, *sukṛita*, *brahma*, *sāhab*, *śāh*, *alah*, *bēbahā*, etc. “Satguru” is also used in other contexts for signifying the earthly preceptor (*guru*). The other terms are very common in Hindu and Muslim religious and philosophical treatises, except *bēbahā* which is derived from *bahā* (Persian) meaning “price” and *bé*, “without,” so that *bēbahā* = “Priceless.” This is a term of very frequent use, and, as I have learnt from the sadhus, a very important one too; because it is imparted by them to their disciples in faith as the *guru-mantra* (sacred precept) to which a very great solemnity is attached. Again, there are many lines in which the word *nāma* (Name) has been used as almost an equivalent of the name of God and qualified likewise. On one occasion the saint has quoted a well-known couplet of Tulasī Dāsa (reproduced in English translation below):—

There is only one confidence, one strength, one
hope-and-trust;

This one confidence is in the Name; and Tulasī
Dāsa is the seeker.²

In commenting on these lines he adds:

Understand this couplet of Tulasī Dāsa;

¹ दरिया अगम गँभीर है, लाल रतन की खानि ।

जो जन मिलै जौहरी, लेहि सब्द पहिचानि ॥ G. S. 1

² एक भरोसा एक बल, एक आस बिस्वास ।

एक भरोसा नाम कर, जाचक तुलसीदास ॥ G. S. 362

The faithful wife has in her mind but one husband.

There are in this world prostitutes with many husbands.

Devote yourself to one with body and soul dedicated.

Have hope in the heart for the one Name;

And shake off every other dilemma.¹

The resplendence of Name, says he, is like that of a hundred crores of suns;² and the same is quite evident to all but those who are devoid of love and devotion.³ The importance of Name is also clear from the fact that the Dariyā-panthis always accost each other by saying *satta nāma*, or, simply *satnāma* (the True Name). Apart from being the universal term for salutation, the expression is also spontaneously uttered off and on as symbolic of God.

God (*Sāhab*) is also the True Guide (*satguru*)^{4 5}, and Dariyā Sāhab has repeatedly said that the merciful God became his guide and inspired him in his

¹ बूझहु तुलसी कर एह साखी ।

पतिबरता एक पति चित राखी ॥

एह जग बेस्वा बहुत-भतारी ।

एक भगति करु तन मन वारी ॥

एकै नाम आस चित धरहू ।

दूजा दोबिधा सम परिहरहू ॥ G. S. 363-66.

² नाम भानु सत कोटि प्रगासा । G. S. 17.

³ प्रगट प्रताप नाम कर, प्रेम भगति बिन दूर । G. S. 20.

⁴ सो साहब भौ सतगुर मेरा । G. S. 18.

⁵ साहब सतगुर भयउ हमारा ॥ G. S. 277.

utterances.¹ He is his King;² and he His son.³ Every one should try to commune with Him and take shelter under His feet.⁴ He is our Friend (Yāra), and unless we are devoted sincerely, we shall have no chance of meeting Him.⁵ We should try to light the lamp of our heart with the spark of Truth.⁶ But this process of enlightenment is impossible without the help of a *satguru* (the true earthly preceptor), even as a mere seed sown in the ground does not fructify in the absence of timely help in the form of rains, etc.⁷ God is like the pilot in the ocean of the mortal world and His Name like the ship.⁸ He is the Emancipator of the Swan (*bañsa-ubārana*), the “swan” almost always signifying the soul. He permeates every life, every body.⁹ He is undecaying, true and

¹ धन साहब सतगुरु धनी, मोहि लखाय जिन्ह दीन्ह । G. S. 202.

² बादसाह सोइ साहब मेरा । G. S. 286.

³ में फरजन्द पुरुष सत केरा ।

रोसन दिल चिराग है मेरा ॥ G. S. 282.

⁴ सतगुरु पद गहह । G. S. 68.

आवहु सतगुरु सरन सबेरा । G. S. 64.

अब सतगुरु पद परसहु आई । G. S. 81.

⁵ यार मिलन की राह सँवारो । G. S. 349.

यार मिलन कर खोजहु ठाऊँ । G. S. 358.

तब नहिं यार मिलन संजोगा ।

एह भव चौरासी बड़ सोगा ॥ G. S. 384.

⁶ सत चिनगी लै बारहु ही कै ॥

निज दिल दीपक रोसन करहु । G. S. 161.

⁷ सो बिनु सतगुरु काहु न पाई ॥ G. S. 164.

⁸ नाम जहाज सुन्नित कँड़हारा । G. S. 52

⁹ पारब्रह्म सम घटघट डेरा । G. S. 134

the creator of the universe.¹ His glory is unknowable;² and even Brahmā, Śiva, Śeṣa and Śārādā fear Him.³ Even the eighty lacs of apostles (Paigambara) could not reach the limit of it.⁴ He is the King and the Overlord, and the twofold world is but the manifestation of his sport (līlā).⁵

There are occasional leanings on the part of Dariyā Sāhab to the Vedantic and Sufistic theory of identification of God and the Universe or God and the soul; but on such occasions this poet-saint almost invariably lapses into ecstatic and mystic utterances. One such instance is a stretched metaphor seeking to establish identity, or, strictly speaking, similarity between the “body” and the “world” (*tana* and *jahāna*)—a topic which will be taken up under a fresh heading. The underlying idea behind his Vedantic-Sufistic utterances and expressions, like *brahma*, *māyā*, and *līlā*, etc., however, is not the identity of God, soul and the world, but rather the unity or oneness of God; and this is not surprising, because

सभ घट अलह बसेरा । G. S. 136.

एकै ब्रह्म सभै घट, जहाँ देखु तहँ एक ।

ह्रिदै कमल उजियार भौ, करहु सरोद बिबेक ॥ G. S. 166.

सभ घट अलह बरल उजियारी । G. S. 133.

¹ अजर नाम गुन सत करतारा ।

धन साहब तुम सिरजनहारा ॥ G. S. 12.

² अबिगति महिमा । G. S. 13.

³ बिधि सिव सेस सारदा डरहीं । G. S. 14.

⁴ असी लाख पैगम्मर आवा ।

बे-कीमति कर अंत न पावा ॥ G. S. 15.

⁵ लीला जाकर जुगल जहाना । G. S. 286.

almost all the saint-poets from Kabīr onward have raised a voice of protest against polytheism and even idolatry. Under the Muslim domination there were on one side the idolatrous and polytheistic Hindus and on the other the iconoclast and monotheistic Muslims under two hostile banners. Kabīr and others of his following just attempted a reconciliation between the two camps by preaching a monotheistic doctrine which could be free from communal tinge. God, in the words of Kabīr, declares:—

Not am I in the temple, nor in the mosque,
nor in Kābā, nor on Kailāsa.
Why dost thou seek me, O devotee,
I am in thy possession already.¹

Such a universal God (often called *brahma*) is one in all. He is the light of the Veda as well as the Qoran.² As to the multifold manifestations of one and the same God in the universe,—this is no wonder. Cows may be of various colours, but the milk they yield is white and white alone.³ There may be only one tree, and yet the fruits may be sweet, sour, pungent, bitter, even poisonous and wholesome.⁴ The one Svāti (a constellation) drop may give rise to a pearl in a

¹ ना मैं मन्दिर, ना मैं मस्जिद, ना काबा कैलास में ।

मुझको क्यों तूँ ढूँढ़ै बन्दे, मैं तो तेरे पास में ॥

² एकै ब्रह्म सकल घट बासी ।

बेद कितेब दुनो परगासी ॥ G. S. 366.

³ धेनु अनेक बरन जिव जानी ।

छीर सेत एक रंग बखानी ॥ G. S. 367.

⁴ ब्रीछ एक सभ मेवा फरई ॥

कत मीठा कत खाटा कसेला । G. S. 368.

shell of the ocean and to an "elephant-pearl" (*gajamuktā*) in the head of an elephant;¹ to fragrant camphor in the plantain-tree, but to non-odoriferous *bañsa-lochana* in the bamboo tree;² and it turns into venom in the mouth of a snake.³ Even in such wise has all this world emanated and ramified from one drop. Little do we know that the Immortal Person (*amara-puruṣa*) is, like the *svāti* drop, our basic nucleus.⁴ We are seeking Him here and there, at temples and mosques and pilgrimages, instead of seeking Him within ourselves, just like the saffron-deer which seeks saffron in the grass outside whereas it lies all the time in its own navel.⁵ Rare indeed are the saints who are aware of the mysterious tenet: Thou in All; All in Thee!⁶

कत तीता करुआ कत भेला ॥ G. S. 369.

कत बिख कत अम्रित सम होई । G. S. 370.

¹ जैसे स्वाती बूंद सै, कत उपजै संसार ।

बिलग बिलग सम जानियै, गुन कीमति बिस्तार ॥ G. S. 371.

सीपसिन्धु में मोती भयऊ ।

गज मस्तक गजमुक्ता पयऊ ॥ G. S. 372.

² केदलि कपूर सुगन्ध सुहावा ।

बेनु बंसलोचन होय आवा ॥ G. S. 373.

³ अहिमुख विषम गरल भौ आई । G. S. 374.

⁴ स्वाती अमर पुरुष निज मूला । G. S. 376.

⁵ भरम लगा भटका फिरै तिरथ बरत सभ-कोय । G. S. 380.

जहाँ तहाँ ढूँढ़ै सभ कोई ।

आपु में आपु बुझै नहि सोई ॥ G. S. 377.

जैसे मृगमद है मृग पासा ।

आपु न ढूँढ़ै ढूँढ़त घासा ॥ G. S. 378.

⁶ दरिया दिल दरियाव है, अगम अपार बेअंत ।

सभ में तैं तोहि में सभै, जानु मरम कोइ संत ॥ G. S. 393.

FIROZ TUGHLUQ AND HIS BENGAL CAMPAIGN

(From *Sîrat-i-Fîrozshāhi*)

By K. K. BASU

The supplicants of the court who had taken refuge under the shadow of the Imperial banner represented that, the entire people (of Bengal) who had qualms sought His Majesty's interference and aid in their internal affairs and took shelter in the court that served as a sanctuary to the Sultans and the poor.

VERSE

Oh Emperor ! Thou art generous,
The venus of the heavens shines over thy forehead !

Fortune and Victory are ever by thy side,
Felicity and Wisdom are thy boon companions !!

In fact, being haunted with the fear of the tyrant, the refugees left their families and baggages behind them and in expectation of favour and sympathy came to the court of His Majesty who was so considerate to the mankind.

VERSE

Oh King ! the water of thy sword completely
submerges
Whatever dust of tyranny appear on the horizon.

For thee there is discipline in the affairs of the
world,
The musk-deer is safe from the tiger of the forest !

In response to the petition, the Emperor who has been bestowed with the chosen qualities and choicest favours by The Almighty God, ordered for the mutilation of the said tyrant's hands with the sword of Islam, and made his best endeavours to liberate the oppressed.

VERSE

Envy and malice disappeared from the age,
And highhandedness made itself scarce !

The servants of God were set free and they secured profit and recompense.

VERSE

Oh Emperor !
The palladium which thy justice provides helps
the feeble partridge
To make its roost before the birds of prey and
the hawk.
Even in sleep the closed eyes (of the enemy) see
vision of thy fury,
They find themselves pulled about their ears by
thee !

His Majesty, may God ever maintain his justice, (again) observed, "The country is exposed to danger when its people suffer under absolutism. The ruler should on no account cause evil to his subjects."

VERSE

The duty of the king is not to oppress,
The wolf cannot tend the flock.
The king who lays the foundation of despotism
Undermines the plinth of his country.
The king must wipe the tears of the aggrieved
And keep the people out of harm's way;
Else, a sovereign is of no earthly use,
He should better perish than be malevolent !

The Emperor should stand to reason and hold
the scales of justice in his hand.

VERSE

A sympathetic king is wise and sagacious,
One who is cold-hearted is no king but a rapacious
animal.

The gnat is not long-lived as an elephant
It is short-lived, for it sucks blood !

The king must protect the oppressed; he should
not crush them under an iron heel.

VERSE

The king serves as the sentinel of the darwesh,
The latter gets on in the world under his patro-
nage.

The flock does not exist to pander to the tastes
of the shepherd.

It is the pastor who must subserve the flock !

The king should guard his subjects against all
malignity: oh, what a pity, if the people are afflicted at
the hands of the king !

VERSE

It is to friends only that people cry their eyes out
 If the friend is unkind, they are on a lee-shore.
 It has been said—

The country is put to ruination,
 The poor are plunged into sorrow;
 The soldiery whose heart is not set at ease
 Take things as they come.
 A subject resembles a tree; if thou dost nurture
 him

He will bear thee fruit.
 It's he that enjoys pleasures of youth and fortune
 Who seldom tyrannises over the weak.
 Take care ! if the oppressed approaches thee
 Pay thy attention to his troubles.
 To him God does justice
 He who gets no justice from the emperor;
 Happy is the king who prefers peace and security
 of his subjects
 To those of his own;
 Amazed am I to see the vision of a stony-hearted
 (king)
 Under whom the people are so much oppressed;

* * * *

The ryot should not be unjustly put to death,
 A sovereign should afford him shelter and help.
 A wōman is far better than a man—an oppressor,
 Even a dog is better than a tyrant !
 Weed out the saplings of tyranny
 But kill not the poor innocent soul !

May God's justice remain in earth ! Whenever the emperor is personally a tyrant, his kindreds and followers extend their hands of oppression on the suffering humanity.

VERSE

If the emperor eats the apple from the garden
of ryots,
His slaves uproot the tree !
If the emperor destroys few eggs,
His soldiery kill birds in thousands !!

To all intents and purposes, the Emperor, out of excessive mercy and perfect clemency, ordered the tyrants to forbear themselves from mischief-making. But it made no impression on them; they showed their intolerance in matters of religion. Consequently, with a view to liberating the sufferers from the hands of their oppressors, His Majesty set out with his triumphant and superior forces to Lakhnauti.

VERSE

The ambling horse, under the saddle of his
(Emperor's) fortune,
Was like a cloud at the time of journey and an
elephant in strength:
Like the new moon it conquered the surface by
its hoofs:
(And) like a spear it caught hold of the atmosphere by its ears:
Under the burden of the (Emperor's) saddles it
was not weak in the joints,

(And) though afflicted by the reins it bore no stamp of terror in its disposition!

His Majesty gave priority to this work of liberation over hunting.

Now, an event of staggering belief happened***
 ***Most of the games—wild beasts and beasts of prey—such as, wolf, leopard, tiger and bear that had, owing to the frightening and terrifying arrow (of the Emperor) that scarcely missed its mark, ran away to the bank of the canal,¹ were ordered to be bagged. At the time when the pen (of the author) was being set in motion, furious lions fell before the fierce arrows of the (imperial) army: a number of these animals had made a dead set at the king's men, but were shot down. The royal elephants that had drunk deep the cup of His Majesty's arrangements and became inebriated carried some eight lions to the court. In the course of this expedition and on the 9th shaaban, 770 H. (Monday, 19th March, 1369 A.D.) some nine lions were put to the edge of the sword. In narrating this story, the author has an eye to setting forth before the seekers of truth the fact that the events herein described are without any parallel.

In fact, when the victorious imperial banner forced its passage through the Ganges and the Saraju and such other streams, His Majesty ordained that, his detachment should pitch its tent on the banks of the *Kawi* that remained perennial. When the porters and divers attempted to explore the depth of (the stream) they discovered that the waters had swollen,

¹ Ms. reads نہر ذہب

but by the Grace of God that was ever present on the Emperor of Islam, when the imperialists took a plunge they got a footing. This miracle was noticed by all those who remained in the train of His Majesty. Thus, when the Emperor reached Bengal all the doctors and abbots, the rich and the poor, left their villages and cities and with their families marched in procession towards the court to pay their homage and to sing the praises of the Emperor.

VERSE

(Oh, Emperor !)

In thy court serve thousands of porters who
resemble the King of China,

In thy assembly-room are thousands of servants
who look like Caesar.

The fear of thy spear has rendered safe all thy
undertaking,

It has preserved thy integrity in this tyrannical
sphere !

Thy poniard hover over the enemies,

Thy lance-head verge upon the heart of the in-
fidels.

Thy grandeur is self-existent,

Thy reverence destroys the effects of avarice.

Thy halberd transforms the abode of the enemy
to the slaughter-house of lions,

In thy implacable mood, the elephant is afraid of
thy dagger !

A royal proclamation was issued to the effect
that safeguards should be provided to the people of

the city and the villages and to those who were obedient to the emperor and were reckoned among the rank of the subservient. As a consequence, none of the imperial soldiery could levy black-mail on the people of the vicinity (i.e., Bengal).

The Emperor pronounced thus:—

VERSE

That place my mind obtains repose,
Whence I remove trouble from the oppressed.
May there be all goodness in my conduct,
May it not be an occasion for distress and mis-
fortune.
Let the age be populous in consequence of my
justice,
Let the heart of the oppressed be glad through
me,
May no evil emanate from my officials,
From any of my soldiery and my deputies.
For if one is trampled under foot and made
miserable,
It inflicts losses upon me.
From thee I seek not gold and silver,
Lest thy heart trembles in fear of me !
The subjects should enjoy a peaceful repose
Their minds be freed from anxiety and distrac-
tion !

Serving as the bond-slaves of the Emperor, the poor were under his protection and were placed within the ramparts of his assistance, and thus, they remained safe from impairment.

VERSE

The empire is resplendent with the effulgence of
thy justice, and is safe under the mantle of
thy equity,

Such that it casts into the shade the country of
Nowsherwan.

Whatever trouble there exists (in the country),
by thy assistance is expelled.

However an up-hill work, thy grace makes it
obey the helm.

A number of supplicants were specially favoured
with the bestowal of gifts at the court.

VERSE

(Oh Emperor !)

So long the people suffer under thy violence,

The munificent hand of thy fortune is short:

So long are the distressed inclined to thee

God is ever a defender of thy country !

When the Emperor reached his destination, Sultan Shamsuddin retired from Pandua, his capital, and took refuge at Ikdala which was situated on the banks of the Ganges and was surrounded by one of the branches of the said river. Like a boisterous stream and a roaring cloud, the imperial forces came down upon the wicked tyrant (Shamsuddin) and hedged him in. The terror-inspiring royalists filled the atmosphere with such an impurity and dust that the vision of their adversaries grew dim and they drifted away. The Sultan of Bengal coloured up at the defeat of his own men, and with a vain-glory that

was so unusual in the character of his elders, he offered resistance to the invaders. Having raised a fresh army consisting of huge elephants and an infantry numbering eight lacs, he made preparations for a second encounter. But the Emperor was the custodian of the believers. May God his kingdom perpetuate! (so—)

VERSE

(Oh, Emperor)

On account of fears for thy resentment and for the
trumpet of thy clarion

The contemptible had no stomach for the affray !

The Delhi army assumed the offensive and put the adversaries out of court; nearly sixty thousand men of the enemy forces became food for the merciless sword.

VERSE

The Heavens placed the garment of death on
the hands (of the foe),

The universe shred to pieces the robes of permanency worn by the enemies.

The heads of the rebels in the battle-field

Were severed like a leek by the sword !

“I don’t”, the Emperor turned to the prisoners and rapped out, “find among you those persons who intended running me through my body: the cavaliers dressed in green had put on their shoulders blue turbans, so that they might with their swords of anger give a *coup de grace* and prepare a heap of the slaughtered. Where are they now ? If they have failed, it is because God is on my side !”

VERSE

If you intend bestowing distinction upon a
number of kings
You need no help from any man or living soul :
A hint from the point of your whip is sufficient
enough,
You need not play your best card !

For sometime thousands of disjoined human
heads and bodies dropped down the battle-field.
The travellers who happened to pass by the scene
of action could hear till this day the moan of the
wounded. In the said warfare a large number of
Bengal aristocracy was killed, and a big number
taken prisoner.

VERSE

His dagger (took off) the foolish enemy-brains
And like the Huma served them out to the
constellations of the Eagle.
Death—the violent wind, scattered the leaves
of the enemy's life
And to *Nauroz* imparted the season of autumn.
The sharp sword, by the blood of the slain
Turned the battle-field crimson.

* * * * *

A number of Shamsuddīn's elephants fell into the
hands of the victors, and most of his partisans who
had taken part in the fight made a retreat and took
shelter in the fortress.

VERSE

His (Shamsuddin's) star was on the wane,
And he had little chance of success left !

A multitude of people cried shame upon Shamsuddin and the latter, being unable to show his face, took recourse to flight.

* * * * *

Next day, the victorious imperial forces made preparations for laying siege to the fort. Some of the distressed Muslims raised their voices of lamentation and complained from the battlements, and the Muslim women, from the closed doors of their houses put up a request (to His Majesty) for forbearance. They represented how distressed and afflicted they had become in their confinement under the tyrant (Shamsuddin), and how they had been placed between the hammer and the anvil. Not only they had been oppressed by the despot (Shamsuddin) but they were also unnerved on account of the blockade; for, if the besiegers could get an access into the fort, they would extend their hands of plunder on the garrison and enslave the females. The piquet further urged that they were not the sympathizers of Shamsuddin, rather, they were at the orders of the Emperor to whom they were ready to offer their chattels. But if the Emperor would deny them his protection they would, as the only alternative left to them, take poison and die rather than suffer humiliation.

Thus, when the garrison had cried their eyes out, the Emperor took mercy on them. He liberated

them all, and in commemoration of the event he conferred the name of Azādpur to the fort that he had invested. Victorious and richly laden with wealth, the Emperor returned (to Delhi) in the year 754H (1353-54 A.D.)

After the admonition that he had received, the ruler of Bengal gave up his animosity and sobered down. Shamsuddīn withdrew his hands from acts of tyranny and his victims of oppression gained a respite.....The Bengal ruler, with marks of penitence on his features, was taken before His Majesty. He begged for forgiveness for his past actions and promised, as a mark of submission, to send tributes and presents to the Emperor of Delhi every year.

VERSE

He who is irrational and not sober,
Is at the end put to shame!

Soon after this, Shamsuddīn received his death warrant and his sovereignty came to an end.

* * * *

Sultan Sikandar succeeded his late father Shamsuddīn. Full of youthful conceit, he paid no heed to the advice of his well-wishers, and set the imperial authority at naught. In his self-conceit he had forgotten his own family history.

VERSE

Don't you be disobedient to his (Sultan's) orders
If thou dost expect his help.

He who has made God, The Great and Glorious,
his helpmate

Not to obey him is a sin.

Don't you be unsubmissive to him

For he is the custodian of earthly and spiritual
welfare !

Benevolent is he to the one who is complying
Events are shaped according to his desire.

May you like the candle remain obedient to him
at night

And like *Subh Khezā*¹ may you remain at his
portals at day.

The sun of Fortune ever shines on him

Who ever remains obedient to the shadow of
god (Emperor).

But no amount of advice could be effective, (and Sikandar turned restive). He became conceited and gave no thought to his own safety. He became oblivious of the fact that Pindar Khilji, a servant at the court of Delhi had for his faithful services, reached the rank of a *Khan* and received the title of Kadir Khan and the territory of Bang and Bangāla (Bengal) as an appendage: that, he had an eunuch slave, (Khwājāh Sarāh) Dinar by name, who served him as the head of his armour bearers. Ali Shah, son of Illyās Hāji and better known as Shamsuddīn was in the services of Pindar. Pindar, who was a servant of one of the servants of the court (of Delhi) addressed Shamsuddīn as his brother and the latter's son as his nephew. At last Fortune smiled on them and they rose in the world.

¹ Literary means a set of thieves who arise early in the morning and steal before people are awake.

However, when Sikandar turned disloyal, and acted contrariwise to the contract made by his deceased sire, the Emperor ordered that Sikandar should at first be given a dressing.

VERSE

At the advice of enemies he (Sikandar) sowed
discord,
It's a pity that he so acted !

(Even then) when good sense did not prevail on Sikandar, the Emperor told his own courtiers that the former, by his own acts had forfeited all claim to royal compassion, and ultimately sallied out against the contumacious chief in 759 H.(1357-58 A.D.).

VERSE

(Oh, King !)
The population of the country, the noble and
common, male and female alike
Became cheerful and exulting and paid you their
usual homage.
They all invoked blessings on thee
And wished to remain attached to thy country.
Nothing but victory awaits thee in the expedition
of thine
Nothing but fortune awaits thee in this campaign
of thine !

With his army His Majesty set out like a deluge and beset the fortress of Ikdālā that had been in the possession of Sikandar's predecessors for times past. Ultimately Sikandar grew pale, and having given up hostility he sought for mercy.

VERSE

In truth I shall never yield to despair
And shall never break the friendly contract:
Whether thou desireth my destruction or art
inclined to forgiveness
All thy commands shall be obeyed.
But if the contract is broken on thy part
It's because I am a miser who hasn't carried out
thy orders !

In future it would be talked that Your Majesty
who has no equal in benefactions, May your virtues
be resplendent and may you be favoured by the Omnipotent,
condoned the sins of omission on the part
of your vassal ! So that,

VERSE

The world will sing in thy praise so long it exists,
It will applaud and say, the like of such a sovereign
is never to be seen:
In charity and valour
Thou art unequalled !

The Emperor granted him pardon and declared,
“if the keen-witted happen to commit any injudicious
act, a lenient treatment is necessary at the time of their
chastisement.”

VERSE

He who does not behave wisely in correcting
others,
Is apt to lose his own greatness !
A moist wood may be turned to any shape,
But a dry one can be made straight with fire !!

Consequently, a large number of Sikandar's men that had been made captive were set free. Sikandar (on his part) sent to the Emperor huge elephants and a large number of fine presents. He, further, represented that if a miscreant falsely laid any blame on him the maligner should, after necessary investigation, be dealt retributive justice, and that the petitioner, with all sincerity, had taken upon himself the duty of clearing the country of all evil-doers.

MIR JUMLA AND THE ENGLISH IN MADRAS (1655-58)

By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

[Continued from December (1940) issue]

Nature of alleged oppressions on the English

Referring to the oppressions of the Nawab's government, William Curtis and John Chambers wrote to the Company that his governors would not allow paddy and other necessities to come to the fort through their jurisdictions, as before, without payment of customs. Though paddy was sold in the uplands at 48 measures a small *fanam*¹, the English were obliged to buy it at 30 and 32 a *fanam*. Further, the Nawab, too, threatened to deprive the English of the fort ("to take our fort from us") and government of Madras,² which had been originally given to them by the Nāyak brothers, and subsequently confirmed by Sri Ranga and Mir Jumla himself.

Mir Jumla agreed to the suggestion of Bāla Rau, governor of Poonamallee³ that "he might sell the corn that grew in his Dominions in Madras and that

¹ The small *fanam* of Madras, of which 36 went to the new pagoda. The large *fanam* of Masulipatam was 1/10th of the old pagoda. Love I, 16 in.

² As is clear from the events during Baker's administration. Probably Mir Jumla took this step with a view to get under his control the financial resources of Madras and also as he aimed at slowly and gradually depriving the English of their authority in Madras, so as to make them powerless and unable to help the Raja of Chandragiri.

³ A town 13 miles west of Madras and the centre of administration of that tract of the country.

the government thereof might be under him.” There-upon Bāla Rau took Timmaji out of the town, and thus in effect became both governor of Poonamallee and Nawab’s Adigar at Madras. When he showed Mir Jumla’s letter of authority to Agent Greenhill, the latter answered that Madraspatam was always “a Government of itself” and that it was never joined with the Government of Poonamallee, and that any such junction would not be liked by the English. At this Bāla Rau left Madras, leaving one of his agents there with instructions “to breed distractions both in the Government of the town and in the Company’s affairs.” Bāla Rau also made repeated allegations against the English to Mir Jumla with a view to fan the flame of his wrath against them. Moreover, he interfered with the normal business activities of the Company in several ways—

- (i) by hindering merchants from providing goods to the Company;
- (ii) by demanding new customs¹, and establishing “houses for juncanners” (customs houses) in several places with the definite purpose to injure the English;
- (iii) by preventing grain and goods from coming as usual into Madras;
- (iv) by selling paddy to the townspeople at 25% more than the bazar price;
- (v) by stopping the import of all other paddy to the town except his own;
- (vi) by preventing the factors or their merchants

¹ *Junkams* or sunkam dues, from *chungam*, a toll.

or agents from buying paddy or rice at cheaper rates elsewhere, which increased the running expenses of the fort and the kitchen;

- (vii) by abusing the merchants of the English;
- (viii) by forbidding the English to sell anything except what they secured from the articles brought by the men of Bāla Rau and that at the latter's rates, which were higher by about 50% than those prevailing within 3 or 4 miles of Madras.¹

Thus Bāla Rau sought to utilize his office at Poonamallee to control production and distribution in Madras, "surrounding and feeding" the English "from hand to mouth", so that they might be forced to conform to his will even against their own.

English complaints to Mir Jumla and his governor go in vain

As the oppressions of Bāla Rau dislocated the business activities of the Company and of the townspeople, the English factors complained to Mir Jumla many times of these and similar indignities in the hope of getting an early and effective redress. In this, however, they were always disappointed, while the silence of Mir Jumla emboldened Bāla Rau to "insult the English all the more".² Thus their letter to Mir Jumla, when he was at Cumbum (in Kurnool district), having remained unanswered as usual, they

¹ This account is based on (i) Chamber's Narrative, Love I, 189 and F. E. F. 1655-60; 41. (ii) Letter of Greenhill and Chamber, 10th Nov., 1656; Love I, 165-66; F. E. F. 93.

² Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 189; F. E. F. 1655-60, 41-2.

were put to great troubles; the whole amount of paddy, purchased by the English agents even from outside Mir Jumla's jurisdiction, was seized by Bāla Rau, causing absolute loss to the English. Moreover, the consignment of *gunce*¹ or bell-metal transported with Mir Jumla's sanction to Warangal, was stopped by Bāla Rau at Terrawalawashe² for a long time, subjecting the Company to a loss of 100 pagodas paid for its transportation. The English factors at Masulipatam enquired from Mir Jumla, then on his way to Brampore (Burhanpur)³, in a letter written in Persian, about the reason of such unprecedented hindrances, but, as usual, no reply came.⁴

Next, the English complained to Mir Sayyid Ali, the newly appointed governor of Mir Jumla in these parts. He wrote to them in reply that he had been already shown all their letters to his master, and that he would come to Madras within ten days to restore the status quo after a personal inquiry. But even after four months' vain waiting, the repeated requests of the English for orders for settling the differences, in case he could not come personally, proved unavailing. At this negative attitude of Mir Sayyid Ali, Bāla Rau grew more and more insolent.⁵

The English think of retaliation

The silence of Mir Jumla to English appeals for redress might have been due to his various preoccu-

¹ Gunza from Pegu.

² F. E. F. op.cit. 42.

³ F. E. F. op.cit. 63.

⁴ Chamber's Narrative; F. E. F. op. cit.

⁵ Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 190.

pations. But the gravity of the losses and the troubles which the Company suffered on account of this attitude of seeming indifference or neglect on the part Mir Jumla forced the English factors at Fort St. George under Greenhill to think of retaliation. It took the shape of the seizure of the Nawab's Red Sea junk (August, 1656)¹ the opportunity for which came with the Hindu revolt in the Karnatak.² Sir William Foster seeks to explain the infliction of this 'serious affront' on Mir Jumla within one month of his appointment as the Mughal Wazir,³ which is apparently 'incredible',⁴ as 'a mixture of ignorance and recklessness,' arising from 'the uncertainty as to the continuance of the Company,' which might have made its servants 'less careful of its interests,' the belief of the Fort St. George factors (10th Nov., 1656) that Aurangzeb had sent him as a virtual prisoner to Shahjahan, and that there was little chance of his return from far-off Delhi, the reported rumours of his death,⁵ and the prospects of reoccupation of his 'ancestral throne' by the Raja of Chandragiri. Indeed this act of daring was ostensibly a reply to the "wrongs inflicted upon

¹ F. E. F. 1655-60.

² It is difficult to agree with the 'tentative chronological statement' of Love (I, 192) where the seizure of the Nawab's junk and Bāla Rau's blockade of Madras are described to have occurred in 1655, before the Hindu revolt in 1656. Compare the letter of Fort St. George to the Company, dated 10th Nov., 1656.

³ Mir Jumla was received with high honours at Delhi by the Emperor (7th July, 1656. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, I and II, 217) (8th July in English records).

⁴ F. E. F. 1655-60, 92.

⁵ Masulipatam to Surat, 30th July, 1656.

the Company, but there is little doubt that the factors' private interests were chiefly concerned." This view of the influence of private interests is borne out by the Memorandum on the Nawab's junk: "Sometime before the New General stockc began, there hapened some difference betwixt deceased (then) Agent Greenhill, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Winter on the one part and Mcirejumla the Nabob on the other. The dispute grew so high as Agent Greenhill imploid an English shipp then on the coast of Cormandell to ceaze on a vessell of the Nabobs."¹

Seizure of Nawab's junk

The plan of seizure was quickly executed. When the Nawab's Mocha² junk, a large country vessel,³ rode off San Thome, the factors resolved to seize it,⁴ as "a means to end all this strife."⁵ As it passed by Fort St. George, a boat borrowed from a private ship (the *Jonathan*), dashed out with several Englishmen, including Chamber.⁶ They quickly overpowered the surprised crew and brought the vessel to anchor before the Fort.⁷

The English factors expected to seize the "store"

¹ Love I, 184-5.

² The Chamber's Narrative describes it as a junk from Mecca (Love I, 190), but more probably it would be Mocha, as Mecca is inland.

³ According to a letter from Fort St. George to Bantam, 5th Nov, 1656, the vessel was of 500 tons (Love I, 165), but the *Memorandum* describes it as of about 1000 tons. Bowrey found a ship of the King of Golkonda built for trade with Mocha to be of 1000 tons. (Love I, 185n).

⁴ Letter of 10th Nov., 1656. (Love I, 166).

⁵ Chambers' Narrative; Love I, 190.

⁶ Memorandum, Love I, 185.

⁷ F. E. F. 1655-60, 92; Love I, 165-6.

of Mir Jumla's treasure in his junk, but neither the search of the ship, nor the examination of its "Laskarrs and passengers" revealed to them anything belonging to Mir Jumla,¹ except certain parcels of silver 'Rialls and Ducketts' which had been brought ashore by the master and crew, the former claiming them as his private property.² The disposal of these was held up by the Council at Fort St. George till the owners could be traced, or till the settlement of the country in the possession of the Hindu Raja, which, as has been already noted, was considered by them to prove favourable to their interests.³

To get the junk suitably provided with 'cables and anchors,' in which she was then lacking, it was sent to Jafnapatam (Jaffna), then the 'last Portuguese stronghold in Ceylon', to lie up during winter. It was supplied with 3000 rials "to trimme and fit her with grownd tackle, rigging etc.....and the remaining stock to be invested in chey, elephants, betelnutts etc. course trade," before its expected return in January or February next.⁴

¹ Letter of 10th Nov., 1656; F. E. F. 1655-60, 93... In explaining the absence of Mir Jumla's valuables in the ship, its crew told the factors that in conformity to his order that all his 'estate' should remain at Mocha, the treasure that had been shipped abroad, was 'remanded' on shore. The latter, however, suspected that his wealth might be concealed among the ballast and equippages. Apparently the ship was not wholly searched. Speaking of the Nawab's damages Halstead and Ken (8 June, 1659) refer to "his shipp's lading of rice, freight of three voyadges and the shipp itselfe." (F. E. F. 1655-60, 288).

² F. E. F. 93-4.

³ Ibid. Vide J.B.O.R.S. (Dec. 1940), 334-6. See also Love I, 166-7 and n.

⁴ *Chay*, a root yielding a red dye. F. E. F. 1655-60, 93-94; Love I, 165. While the relations between English and the Portuguese were cordial (Convention of Goa January 1635;

Troubles in the East Coast

But the seizure of Mir Jumla's junk by the Madras factors in August, 1656, proved to be a source of infinite troubles to the English, first in the East Coast, and later on both there and in Bengal. They had resorted to that 'unwarrantable' procedure, believing that on their capture of the vessel and its contents, Mir Jumla would come to a satisfactory agreement with them. But they were disillusioned. Mir Jumla was made of too strong a stuff to come down to such a humiliating compromise. Though then he was preoccupied with his own affairs, and his Karnatak governors were very much distracted due to the Hindu revolt, he knew how to bide his time. As a matter of fact, the subsequent sieges of Madras by his troops formed in a sense strong measures of reprisal against this opportunist policy of the Company's factors at Madras.¹ The Agent at Fort St. George had, indeed, advised Jesson, the English factor at Agra, to enquire whether Mir Jumla was really displeased with the English, when he would be passing through Agra en route to the Deccan.²

The junk incident was undoubtedly a challenge to Mir Jumla's authority. This might also lead one to question the efficiency of the administration of his governors, the repositories of his Karnatak in-

the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1642; Cromwell's treaty of July 1654) those between Holland and Portugal had been very much strained for a long time now. The former captured Colombo on 12th May, 1656 and Jaffna in 1658. *Camb. Hist. India.* V, 46, 85; Danvers II, 275 ff.

¹ F. E. F. 1655-60, p. 184; see *Memorandum*, Love I, 185.

² Agra to Surat (4 Dec. 1656); F. E. F. 1655-60, 74.

terests. Naturally, therefore, it was very much resented by them particularly by Bāla Rau, governor of Poonamlee and Mylapore.¹ Mir Sayyid Ali asked the English to release Mir Jumla's junk. But the latter expressed their unwillingness to comply with it till the restoration of status quo, whereupon he sent his kinsman Mahmud Ali Beg to Fort St. George to inform the English that he would soon go there to decide all differences and ask them to release the junk in the meantime. The English remaining adamant, Mir Sayyid Ali had to come personally; but they were sceptical of his motives and enquired of him as to what they would do in future, if their grievances were not redressed in spite of his presence there. He replied that whatever had been done to the English was according to the Nawab's order and that he himself could not do anything without specific instructions. The English then enquired, with sarcasm, why he then demanded the junk before getting such instructions. At this he left in anger for San Thome, and conferring with Bāla Rau, gave orders for the siege of Madras,² if necessary. Being unable to persuade the English by peaceful negotiations to surrender the junk, Bāla Rau at first resorted to what may be called an "economic blockade" of Madras by wholly stopping the import of provisions there and enforcing it by placing guards round it. But before he could adopt any further measure, he was soon compelled to sue for pacification and withdraw his guards,³

¹ Madras to Surat (21st Oct. 1656); F. E. F. 1655-60, 97.

² Chamber's Narrative, *Ibid*, 95; Love, II, 190.

³ Madras to Surat (21st Oct. 1656); F. E. F. 1655-60, 97.

probably as the ring of the rebellious Hindu Nāyaks tightened round him.

Negotiations for peace

But the siege of Madras was not long to come. The junk affair was too serious an affront to be easily forgotten and the English at Madras gave additional umbrage to Mir Jumla's party by sheltering some of the leaders of the Hindu revolt. The Muhammadans in fact, entered Madras under Lingum Nayak on the 18th December, 1656.¹ This reopened the negotiations for peace² between both the parties which lasted for a fortnight since the 19th of that month. Mir Sayyid Ali coming to Madras as the mediator³ between Lingum Nāyak and the English. The readiness on the part of Mir Jumla's governors to come to a settlement might have been prompted by the desire of getting a breathing time from the embroglio, caused by the Hindu revolt, the siege of Madras, and the consequent dislocation of commerce. The English demanded the fulfilment of three conditions: satisfaction for the Company's captured goods; satisfaction for the debt owed by Koneri Chetti; and satisfaction for what was plundered in the town. Mir

¹ Vide J.B.O.R.S. Dec. 1940, p. 332. The Chamber's Narrative describes the siege of Madras to have taken place when the Nawab (Mir Jumla) had arrived at Daultabad (Deogiri, near Aurangabad) to invade Bijapur.

² Letter of Fort St. George to the Company, Jan., 28 1657 and Chamber's Narrative.

³ The Fort St. George factors wrote that they "began to treat," but from Chamber's Narrative it is clear that Mir Sayyid came to negotiate. It is probable that the delay in arriving at a settlement was due to the protracted negotiations described in the Chamber's Narrative.

Sayyid Ali agreed on condition that the English delivered the "Green Stone"¹ to him, and promised to intercede on their behalf before Mir Jumla, who was expected to come there. However he hazarded the opinion that Mir Jumla might agree only to the first two demands of the English when they would return his junk from Jafnapatam. He also promised to return the above-mentioned stone, in case the Nawab did not come there within two months.

The English, relying on his promises, as those of an honest merchant as he professed to be, delivered up Koneri Chetti, Vengum Raja, Bāla Rau, and the *nakhuda*,² together with the goods seized on the junk—viz., the stone, paintings, clay (*chay*?), and accommodated Mir Sayyid Ali in every way possible.³ After his return with them all and a search among his men, he collected together the Company's cloths and goods plundered in the town, and pretending to return them to the English, went away with them.⁴ He sent back Mahmud Ali Beg to secure a detailed account of the goods of the English, who supplied him with a statement of the Company's losses on account of the goods plundered and the customs. Mahmud Ali Beg then promised to take it to Mir Sayyid Ali and send the English their due.⁵

After a long silence, Mir Sayyid Ali demanded

¹ Love (I, 91) thinks that it was probably impounded from the junk. It was here used as a security.

² Master of the junk. Yule and Burnell, see Hobson—Jobson, S. V. Nacoda, Nacodu, p. 469.

³ F. E. F. 1655-60, 96, For *Chay*, see ante.

⁴ Chamber's Narrative in Love I, 191.

⁵ F. E. F. 1655-60, 96.

from the English payment of sums due to him on account of customs, coinage etc., as a preliminary to giving them satisfaction for their losses. But the English refused to pay as their dues exceeded those of Mir Sayyid Ali.¹

It was finally agreed² that the English should restore all the detained goods of Mir Jumla evidently including the junk, and enjoy their privileges as before. But the factors sustained a double damage: they could not recover the loan of money given to Koneri Chetti at the request of Sri Ranga, on the strength of securities, which were later on seized by Mir Jumla's troops; and also the large quantity of cloths, given to washermen for bleaching, which had been plundered. The Muhammadans 'rose and dispersed' immediately after the agreement, leaving the English at liberty. But as the former soon began to violate the agreement, the English feared that the success of the Muhammadans against the Hindu Raja would entail "further trouble" on them.

The English apprehend danger from Mir Jumla's forces

Such apprehensions of danger from Mir Jumla's Karnātak forces, and the long-drawn-out state of war in those regions, caused considerable anxiety to the Fort St. George factors as regards the safety of the Fort, and the prosecution of their business operations. They made a pathetic and urgent appeal to the Company for the adoption of adequate steps to

¹ F. E. F. 1655-60, 174.

² Fort St. George to Co. 28th Jan., 1657; Love I, 167; F. E. F. 1655-60, 98.

preserve and strengthen the fortifications. Thus they referred to "the face of warr and continued appearance of hostility in these countreys" and their "sadd and weake condition in these troublesome times when sometimes the one, sometime the other party prove ultimately victorious and between them both, draw a miserable ruine on the country."¹ Even before the hostile incursion of 1656-'7, the factors had strengthened the outworks of the Fort by planting '4 pieces of ordinance' seized from Mir Jumla's junk.² But the reinforcement of the manpower, too, was imperative. As a matter of fact Fort St. George had manifestly 'a weak crew' of only about 10 arms-bearing Englishmen in such times. Moreover, the freighted ships particularly the *Mayflower* would not send any reinforcement to the factors or spare even one man; they were "more ready to robb than relieve" them. Hence the Agent and Council at Madras had to supplement 'the slender British garrison' by enrolling Eurasian and native soldiers ("Portugalls, Mestizoes and Blackcs") who, however, could not be wholly trusted. Besides, they were further obliged to form a hired civic militia for meeting any possible emergency, by retaining "in pay such of the Towncspople as are serviceable for Defence of the fort."³ In conclusion of their

¹ Fort St. George to Co. 28 Jan, 1657; Love I, 167; F. E. F. 1655-60, pp. 98, 104.

² Vide ante.

³ Letter of 28th Jan, 1657. op.cit. Mestizes mean half castes from Port Mestico. F. E. F. 98n. The process of employing Indian troops during the fighting and bolckade of 1656 and 1658 was evidently continued and Captain Roger Myddelton succeeding Captain Minors as commander of the garrison

letter, referred to above, they observed: ".....when you please to thinke this coast worthy of somuch charge, 'twere fitt that men and meanes came together; not for this cause alone, but for merchanize and to supply your factories and Fort also. If God bee pleased, our weake strength shall soe long preserve it. For who would not, either friend or foe, in such times endeavour to bee master of such a convenient and defencible place?"¹

It was this weak defencible condition of Fort St. George, and the dearth of a strong English garrison, which induced the factors to regard the conclusion of a peace with Mir Jumla's agents expedient and to await a better opportunity for vindicating their rights.²

But it should be noted that the first siege of Madras by Mir Jumla's forces gave a new impetus to the development of the Madras defences.³ We learn from a Dutch record⁴ that 'the English on the Coast of Coromandel have thoroughly fortified the town of Madraspatam. They have raised a wall round the castle.'

Fresh troubles in 1657

In these circumstances, the settlement of Decem-

referred to a large number of 'native troops' in the pay of the Company. Cf. "Wee have 600 men in dayly pay viz 100 (including Portuguese and Eurasian) white and 500 black" Letter of Capt. Roger Myddelton (Mostyn Ms. 147) Love I, 173-4n.

¹ F. E. F. op.cit., 104.

² Letter of Fort St. George factors to the Company (28th Jan. 1657).

³ Love I, 169.

⁴ Letter of Maetsuyker at Batavia to Dutch E. I. C. (17 Dec. 1657) (Hague Records), quoted Love I, 169.

ber, 1656, being dictated by self-interest on either side, proved to be nothing but a hollow and impermanent truce, which was not long observed. Indeed fresh troubles arose in 1657. Mir Sayyid Ali informed the English that as Mir Jumla had conferred the affairs of these parts on Tupāki Krishnappa Nāyak, the English should not write anything to him. He had also made false allegations to Tupāki against the English.¹ From the above-mentioned Dutch record it appears that Mir Jumla "threatened to attack the town on the plea that the English have lent assistance to the King of Carnatics in his war against the Mogul, and that they show themselves in every other respect very hostile."²

Second siege of Madras, September, 1657 to April, 1658.

Thus followed the second siege or blockade of Madras, varied with occasional fighting, for a period of seven months from September 1657 to April, 1658, conducted by Krishnappa Nāyak and Bāla Rau under orders of Mir Sayyid Ali.³ During the siege the English were asked to give "passes" (passports) for Mir Jumla's sea-going junks.⁴ But they refused as they had been besieged by the Nawab's forces, as they had not got compensation for things taken

¹ Chamber's Narrative: Love I, 191-2.

² Love I, 168, 169.

³ Love I, 192. Foster thinks that a regular siege did not take place and uses the term 'beleaguering' (p. 137). It is probable that the siege pulsated with the varying fortunes of the party of Mir Jumla in crushing the Hindu revolt.

⁴ This indicates naval weakness on the part of Mir Jumla, in spite of his vast mercantile marine. In 1651 the King of Golkonda and Mir Jumla had ceased to ask the Portuguese for passports for their vessels. (Danvers, ii, 301.)

from them and as the stone was not returned as promised before. At this the Nawab's forces strengthened the siege, fighting with the English daily, driving away their cattle and abusing and fining any Englishman they found; and all this caused much damage to the town.¹

Though the garrison² of Fort St. George was small it sufficed to keep at bay the besiegers, who, without artillery,³ could not weaken the fortifications. Moreover, as food supplies could be easily brought by the sea, the blockade became inconvenient and ineffective, and as usual sales of articles could not be effected, the annual rent of the country of Poonamallee could not be realised.⁴ The unprofitable nature and ultimate failure of the entire scheme enhanced the prestige of the English Company and nation and forced Tupāki Krishnappa Nāyak and Aiyappa⁵ (Japa) Nayak to order Bāla Rau to come to terms with the English in

¹ Chamber's Narrative: Love, op. cit.

² The list of men in Fort St. George about this time includes Henry Greenhill, Agent; Thomas Chamber, Accountant; William Isaacson, Chaplain; Thomas Stevenson, William Taylor, 'Bay factors'; Robert Cowper, surgeon; Arthur Herries, 'to command the outguards; Shem Bridges, Andrew Clapper, Assistants, but not in the Company's pay. Among soldiers in the Fort were Timonthy Sutton, Sergeant; Hugh Dixin, gunner; Richard Emerson, John Cowhill, corporals; 20 English privates; 49 Portgall and Mistezaes employed.' The list is incomplete, omitting the name of William Dawes, the Secretary, as he had been a prisoner in Fort St. George since July, 1657. See the enclosure dated 18th January, letter of Fort St. George to the Co. (28th January, 1658). Love I, 171.

³ Aurangzeb had attached Mir Jumla's excellent part of artillery early in January, 1658. Sarkar, I, 339-40.

⁴ Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 191-2; F. E. F. 1655-60, 174.

⁵ Brother of Dāmarla Venkatappa from whom the original grant for Fort St. George was secured; F. E. F. 1655-60 175n.

April 1658, raise the siege, (19th April)¹ and suspend the hostilities till the arrival of Mir Jumla to decide differences personally.²

Agreement of April, 1658

An important agreement was thus drawn up in April, 1658 between Greenhill and Tupāki Krishnappa Nāyak. By it, on payment of a consolidated annual rent of 380 pagodas by the English, Mir Jumla gave up his "interest" in the revenues and customs of Madras,³ and the English were to be left in undisturbed and peaceable control of the Fort and the town.⁴ In their letter to Bantam (12th July, 1658), the Fort St. George factors concluded the tale of their troubles and disputes with the Nawab and his officers by exultingly observing that materially and morally the agreement was a distinct gain to the English, and that the discomfiture of the enemy was a guarantee against any repetition of such disputes and mightily enhanced the prestige of the English Company and the nation.⁵

¹ Fort St. George to Bantam, 12 July, 1658; Love I, 168-9; F. E. F. 176.

² Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 191-2.

³ Share of half customs and revenues.

⁴ Chamber's Narrative: Love I, 191-2; Ibid, 168-69. The annual rent of Madras remained fixed at 380 pagodas till 1672 when it was raised to 1200 pagodas. The English continued to pay this sum till mid-18th century when Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic finally remitted it. F. E. F. 1655-60 174, Camb. Hist. India V, 88n.

⁵ Love I, 168-9; F. E. F. 1655-60, 176. Nothing was stated or settled about the junk affair and further negotiations became necessary.

Reviews and Notices of Books

THE TRISVABHĀVA-NIRDEŚA OF VASU-
BANDHU. Edited by Sujitkumar Mukhopa-
dhyaya of Cheena-Bhavana (Sino-Indian Research
Department), Viśvabhāratī, pages VI+71, pub-
lished from Viśvabhāratī. Price Rs. 10/-.

Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa is a small treatise containing 38 Sanskrit verses dealing with the Bauddha doctrine that there are three distinguishable characters of things, namely the imaginary, the conditioned and the unconditioned (or perfect or absolute). This is edited for the first time on the basis of a Sanskrit MS. obtained from Nepal through Dr. G. Tucci. Two Tibetan versions of the work along with some parallel passages in Sanskrit throwing light on the meanings of the verses are also appended. The editor gives the substance of the verses in the Introduction and an English translation of all of them at the end. A valuable word-index (containing Sanskrit terms with their Tibetan equivalents, and vice versa) is also annexed. Foot-notes show the variant readings.

The work is attributed to Vasubandhu, the famous Bauddha philosopher of the Yogācāra school, on the evidence of the colophons of the Sanskrit text and of one of the Tibetan translations, which purport to say that the work is of the venerable teacher Vasubandhu (*ḥṣṭirācāryavasubandhupādānāmiti*). The verdict of the other Tibetan translation which attributes

the work to Nāgārjuna is set aside by the editor on the ground that the 'treatise deals with the Yogācāra school of philosophy', whereas 'the celebrated Nāgārjuna,' was the 'founder of the Mādhyamika school.'

Though this conclusion of the editor may be *probable*, it is not altogether free from possible doubts. The words used in the colophon seem to suggest that it was added afterwards by some disciple of Vasubandhu, and the Tibetan version might simply have followed it without critical investigation. The proof of the authorship would then depend chiefly on the other ground, namely the philosophical doctrine taught in the book. To determine this one has to remember that the distinction between the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika is that while the one believes ultimate reality to be Consciousness (Vijñāna), the other regards it as Śūnya (which has been again variously interpreted as void, the indescribable, the indeterminate and so on). One of the strongest points for supposing that the present work teaches Vijñāna-vāda is perhaps its adopting the idealistic theory of the Yogācāra that all empirical consciousness arises not from any real external world, but from a basic consciousness (ālaya-vijñāna) which stores up all past impressions. But side by side one can also notice the dialectic of the indeterminate and the indescribable running all through, which makes a presumption in favour of the supposition that the work may as well be taken to belong to the Mādhyamika school—which is the opinion of one of the Tibetan versions.

Of the variant readings again some seem to be

more in accord with Sūnya-vāda, than with Vijñāna-vāda. The editor's view requires therefore further proof to place it on stronger basis.

In adopting readings, in translation and in the introduction the editor makes a *consistent* effort to understand the treatise as a Yogācāra work. The book bears signs of painstaking research and training in the methodical treatment of manuscripts. It is a valuable addition to the recent publications on Baudha Philosophy. The price is exorbitant.

D. M. D.

THE VIJÑĀNA DĪPIKĀ BY PADMAPĀDĀCĀRYA. Edited by Dr. Umesha Mishra, M.A., D.Litt. of Allahabad University with a Sanskrit Commentary, *Vivṛtti*, an English Introduction and a Summary. Pages 37 plus 47. Published by Allahabad University. Price Re. 1/-.

Students of Indian Philosophy in general, and Vedānta in particular, will welcome this first volume of the Allahabad University Sanskrit series as an important addition to advaita literature hitherto published. The place of Padmapāda in the Advaita school is next only perhaps to Śaṅkara's. The University deserves our thanks for making this work available in print. His Highness the Maharaja as also the Rājaguru of Nepal placed two MSS. at the disposal of the editor.

Though the present work deals with the well-known concepts of Advaita Vedānta, it specially

attempts to solve one of its basic problems namely, how exactly one can overcome the forces of Karma to attain liberation? One finds the concept of Karma in almost every branch of Indian Philosophy but there is not much explicit rational discussion about the many problems that arise out of it. The Sanskrit text under review contains an exhaustive discussion of some of these problems and is therefore of great value.

Though the war has made the work of publication difficult, one could expect a higher standard of accuracy at least in the matter of printing and especially in a volume which ushers in a new series of Allahabad University publications. Slips pasted here and there to conceal misprints is a shabby way of dispensing with an extra proof-reading, which was obviously very necessary.

The explanation of Sanskrit philosophical concepts in English needs not only a knowledge of Sanskrit language, but also a grasp of philosophical concepts and a command of the philosophical technical terms in English. The editor would have added to the value of this work if he could secure the collaboration of a scholar with such competence to look through the English Introduction and summary. This is the feeling a student of philosophy is forced to have. For example, the editor speaks of the appearance of *Infinite Jīva* (a trans. of *ananta-jīva-nirbhāsa*, which means appearance of *innumerable* individuals); on page 10, of the *theory of Vicchheda* (for *vicchheda-avabhāsa* which means appearance of difference or separatencss); on page 11, generally

of sense-organs (for *indriyas*) and forgetfulness (for *uparati*), attributeless salvation (for *Nirviṣeṣa Mukti*) and so on.

But the value of the work lies in the text edited.

D. M. D.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, the 19th January, 1941.

Present

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.
(in the Chair).

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Before the transaction of formal business, the Council placed on record its appreciation of the honour of Knighthood conferred on the Vice-President.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 17th November, 1940.

2. (a) Passed the monthly accounts for the months of October, November and December, 1940.

(b) Passed payments of the following bills:—

1. Allahabad Law Journal Press Bill No. 490 dated 30-11-40 printing charges of Journal, September issue, 1940. Rs. 290.
2. Payment of Rs. 1197-9-6 to Messrs.

Dharmaman Purnaman, Calcutta in connection with purchase of Tanjur (Rs. 1000/- from Tanjur Fund in the Society's hand and Rs. 197-9-6 from Tibetan Expedition Fund).

3. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society:—

(a) Pandit Durga Prasad Pandey, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., (London and Leiden), P.O. Chand, Dist. Shahabad.

(b) Babu Priya Tosh Banerji, B.A., 6th year student, Patna College.

4. Read letter dated 8-1-41 from B. Avadh Bihari Jha, a member of the Society.

Resolved that his request be acceded to.

5. Considered the advisability of exchange with the following:—

(a) Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institution, Poona.

(b) Annals of Shri Venkateswara Research Institute, Tirupati.

(c) Half-yearly Journal of Mysore University.

Resolved that exchange be permitted.

6. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved provisionally to hold the Annual General Meeting of the Society in the first week of March, 1941 and to approach the following gentlemen to address the meeting:—

(a) G. Yazdani, Esq., O.B.E., M.A., Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan.

(b) N. C. Mehta, Esq., I.C.S. Secretariat,
Allahabad.

7. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected officers and members of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held in March, 1941.

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.B.E., M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon).

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.; Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.B.E., M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon).

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon).

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S.J.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Mohammad Ismail.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

Resolved further to request the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Balaji Dhavle, I.C.S., Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad, K.T., and R. E. Russell, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., to accept membership of the Council.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, on Friday, the 7th March, 1941, at 6-15 P.M.

1. The President, His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., declared the meeting open.

2. On a motion by Mr. P. C. Manuk the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1941-42.

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, kt.

Secretary—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.B.E., M.A., D.Phil.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, kt.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.B.E., M.A.
D.Phil.

—
Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S.J.

R. E. Russell, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Md. Ismail.

3. On a motion by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., (Retired) was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

4. The Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Report and the Annual Statement of Accounts.

5. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

6. The President invited G. Yazdani, Esq., O.B.E., M.A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad, to address the meeting.

7. G. Yazdani, Esq., O.B.E., M.A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, delivered an interesting lecture on "The Wall-Paintings of Ajanta" illustrated with lantern slides.

8. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

9. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

10. The President declared the meeting closed.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1940-41

I—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1940 was 118. The Society lost five of its ordinary members (four by resignation and one by death) and four subscribers. Four new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 12 Honorary members and 14 Life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 144.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and members of the Council:—

President:—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President:—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary:—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (OXON.).

Treasurer:—Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Librarian:—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A.

Editorial Board:—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A.,
D. Phil.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil.

II—MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 9th March, 1940 in the Patna University Library Hall. His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of the formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture delivered by Captain V. d'Auvergne, M.E., D.C.M., M.S.M., Superintendent, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 17th June, 11th August, 1940 and 19th January, 1941.

III—JOURNAL

During the period under review parts 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Volume XXVI of the Society's Journal containing 380 pages, and 10 Plates have been

published. The Volume includes the text of the *Pramāṇavārtikavṛtti* from pp. 481 to 531 and 51 pages of Index.

The plates contain reproductions of valuable Mauryan Sculptures recently unearthed at Lohanipur, Patna and of important early inscriptions discovered near Gaya.

The following publications have been put on the Journal's exchange list.

1. Archaeological Department, Jaipur State.
2. Bharatiya Vidya, Bombay.
3. Bulletin Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.
4. Annals of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati.
5. Half-yearly Journal, Mysore University.

IV—LIBRARY

During the year 70 books (97 volumes) and 190 Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 36 were presented, 32 were purchased and 2 were received in exchange and of the Journals 41 were presented, 2 were purchased and 147 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1940 the Library contained 8641 volumes as compared with 8354 volumes at the end of the previous year.

A complete set of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur was acquired at a cost of about Rs. 3000/-.

V—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

Volume IV of the Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila edited by Dr. A. Banerji-

Sastri has been published. The cost of printing and publishing the volume was met out of the funds generously placed at the disposal of the Society for the purpose by the late Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. Donation of Rs. 5000/- as first instalment of Rs. 10,000/- promised by the late Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga is almost exhausted. Seven more volumes of the Catalogue have been made ready for the press by the Editor with the assistance of the Mithila pandit.

A palm-leaf manuscript of Bālakāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa in Mithila Script dated La Sam. 241, i.e. 1360 A. D. and some important palm-leaf manuscripts on Sama-veda in Dravida characters found in the possession of Raj Pandit Mahendranath Jha of Darbhanga were noticed.

A manuscript copy of the Mahābhārata was presented to the Society by Pandit Lakṣhmīnātha Jhā of Dath (district Darbhanga), Professor of Vedānta, Hindu University, Benares, through the Mithila Pandit.

A manuscript copy of Krishṇajanmarahasya in Mithila Script was purchased for the Society's Library.

The Mithila Pandit noticed 1355 manuscripts from February, 1940 to January, 1941.

7th February, 1941.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,
Honorary General Secretary

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FROM 1st APRIL
1940 TO 31st JANUARY, 1941

A. The actuals for 1939-40 showed a closing balance of Rs. 1107-14-1 with the amount in Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 5764-6-10 as the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 6872-4-11 at the end of 1939-40.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 31st January, 1941 the current account closing balance was Rs. 719-2-6. To this must be added the amount in the Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 4,764-6-10 which gives a total of Rs. 5483-9-4.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on the amount in the Public account. The subscriptions realised up to the 31st January, 1941 amounted to Rs. 589, up to the 31st January 1940 the realised amount was Rs. 1023-4-3. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1200.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 149/- up to the end of January, 1941, For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 338-10.

26th February, 1941

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

ACTUALS UP TO JANUARY 31, 1941

INCOME

	<i>Actuals</i>			<i>Revised Budget</i>		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscription	589	0	0	1200	0	0
Sale of Journal	121	12	0	150	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	4	0	..		
Postage Recovered ..	9	13	0	10	0	0
Sale of Buchanan's Re- ports	10	0	0	..		
Sale of Cat. of Mithila MSS.	17	4	0	..		
Government Grant ..	5133	0	0	5133	0	0
Tibetan expedition ..	50	0	0	..		
OPENING BALANCE—						
Hathwa fund	215	15	6	215	15	6
Darbhanga Fund ..	1251	11	9	1251	11	9
Mayurbhanj Fund ..	211	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	211	7	$\frac{1}{2}$
Tibetan Tanzur	1000	0	0	1000	0	0
Tibetan Expedition ..	1265	12	9	1265	12	9
General Balance ..	2927	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2927	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
GRAND TOTAL ..	12805	5	11	13365	4	11

26th February, 1941

S. BHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

ACTUALS UP TO JANUARY 31, 1941

EXPENDITURE

	<i>Actuals</i>			<i>Revised Budget</i>		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	1048	0	4	1280	4	0
Mithila Pandit	1361	13	9	1605	0	0
Telephone	1	0	0	..		
Printing Charges	1187	12	9	2000	0	0
Postage	181	4	0	400	0	0
Stationery	15	8	6	90	0	0
Library	323	6	0	1149	13	9
Electrical Charges	61	5	3	100	0	0
Hathwa Fund	74	15	0	215	15	6
Darbhangra Fund	1001	9	6	1251	11	9
Mayurbhanj Fund .. ..	..	..	..	211	7	$\frac{1}{2}$
Miscellaneous	374	13	0	540	0	0
Tibetan Tanzur	1000	0	0	1000	0	0
Tibetan Expedition	690	4	6	1265	12	9
TOTAL	7321	12	7	11110	0	9$\frac{1}{2}$
CLOSING BALANCE	5483	9	4	2255	4	1$\frac{1}{2}$
GRAND TOTAL	12805	5	11	13365	4	11

DETAILS OF CLOSING BALANCE ON 31ST JANUARY 1941:—

	C/A		P/A		<i>Total</i>		
					Rs.	a.	p.
Hathwa Fund	151	0	6
Darbhangra Fund	267	6	3
Mayurbhanj Fund	211	7	$\frac{1}{2}$
General Balance	4228	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tibetan Expedition	625	8	3
TOTAL					5483	9	4

26th February, 1941

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXVII]

1941

[PART II

Leading Articles

SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY

*From 319 after Chr., the beginning of the Ballabhi—
and of the later Gupta—Dynasty, till the beginnings
of the Muhammadan conquests of India.**

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The sources from which a knowledge of the history of India during the period from 319 after Chr. with which year the era of the *Ballabhi*—and of the younger *Gupta*—kings begins, and the beginning of the conquest of Indian countries by the Musalmans shortly before 1000, must be drawn, are the same as those for the history of the preceding period, namely : historical writings, inscriptions and coins ; but the mutual relation of these sources has partly assumed another form. To the previously used historical writings a few new ones are to be added, because now only some Indian States occupy

*Translated with notes from the original German of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* (1858).

their place in history ; further the coins furnish a much slighter aid for supplying the other sources, as was the case in the preceding period. On the relation of these sources and their value in single cases I make the following remarks.

The Indian States, the history whereof begins only in this period, are the following : *Orissa*, *Sindh*, the States of the *Rājaputras*, *Assam* and *Nepal*, although the history of the two last kingdoms during this period is yet very insecure. The history of all these states in general, has usually no firm basis if it can be drawn only from written works, and is not supplemented by inscriptions. As far as the separate countries are concerned, the secure history of *Orissa* begins only with the year 617, the first year of the reign of *Lalita Indra Kēçari*¹. On account of the books wherein the history of this country is represented I may refer to the previous informations hereon.

The most reliable informations on the history of *Sindh* are contained in the *Cācñāmeh*, i.e. the book of *Cāc*², according to which a Brahman by birth, usurped the throne in the year 639 after Chr. The work exists in a Persian translation of the Arabic original, which has been composed by *Ali ben Ahmed* an inhabitant of *Uc*³. This transla-

1. cf. above II p. 31.

2. cf. *ibid.* p. 27 foll.

3. *Account of the Expedition of Chach (Chacha) extracted from the Chachnameh and Extracts from the Tohfut-alkirān.* By Ensign Postans in the J. of the As. S. of B. VII, p. 93 foll. and p. 297 foll. The title of the second work is here disfigured by a typographical error, it ought to be *Tohfut-algirāni*. Further a narrative of *Chāca* p. 256 foll, is taken from the second compilation of this writing.

tion has reached posterity in a double compilation, the first edition terminates with the conquest of Sindh by *Muhammed ben Kásim* during the Khalif *Valid* in the year 712-713; the second brings down the history to the year 1226 and furnishes a few later additions to the oldest history of Sindh¹. In this translation it is to be lamented, that it cannot be more accurately ascertained what portions belong to the *Cácnámeh* and what portions have been drawn from other writings. By reason of its title the first work can have brought the history of Sindh down only as far as the adventures of the successors of *Cáca*. A second defect is that the Indian names are often greatly disfigured. The history of Sindh from the oldest time till the conquest of the *Talpura*-dynasty in the year 1779 has been related by an unknown author in the *Tohfát-algiráni*, i.e. ponderous-presentation². Besides the conquest of Sindh has been reported by the Arabs in the *Kitáb-alfutuh-albulaldáh*, i.e. the book of the conquest of countries by *Ahmed-ben-Iahya*, whose epithet is *Beladori*, who lived at the court of *Almutavakkil* in Bagdad and died in the year 892³. The chief

1. One translation of this work has been published under the following title in the J. of the As. S. of B. X, p. 185 foll. and p. 267 foll. *The Early history of Sindh from the "Chach Nameh" and other authorities.* By Lieut. Postans, Assist. Political Agent Sikarpur.

2. *Translation of the Tohfát-alkirám.* By Lieut. Postans in J. of the As. S. of B. XIV p. 75 foll. and p. 175 foll. and besides *An account of the country of Sindh*: By Capt. Mr. Murdo, Military establishment of Bombay, in the J. of the R. As. S. I. p. 232 foll.

3. *Reinaud's Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde.* Préface p. XVIII foll. p. 161 foll. and p. 182 foll.

value of this history consists in the detailed report of the exploits of the Arabs in the conquest of Sindh, the country of India first subjugated by the Musalmans.

As I have shown on another occasion, that the oldest history of the *Rājaputra*-princes is quite unreliable, and cannot be reconciled to the testimonies of the inscriptions when such exist¹, I need in this place only to mention the writings pertaining hereto, and to determine the period of time, from which the separate states of the *Rājaputras* begin to possess, a credible history. The history of the *Rânās* of *Mewar* is represented in the following works². First in the *Khoman-Rāsa*; *Khoman* is said to have been the title of the princes of those parts, although other examples of the use of this title are wanting. It is quite a new work compiled from older unreliable materials, at the time of the Mogul emperor *Aurengzeb*. After this work the *Rājavilāsa* and the *Rājaratnākara* were written in the vernacular called the *Brijbhākhā*. The chronicle of the princes of Mewar, entitled *Jayavilāsa* is of a still later date. According to the inscriptions, of one of which we possess an accurate translation, the ancestor of this dynasty of the *Rājaputras* is called neither *Kaiswa Guha*, nor *Śilāditya* but *Guhila*³; as his eighth successor Śaktikumāra reigned about

composed by the poet *Jerir*. His chief work presents a narrative of the Arab conquests in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia and Transoxiana.

1. cf. above II. p. 32 foll.

2. James Tod's *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, the Central and Western Rajput States of India* I, p. 21 foll.

3. s. above II. p. 34 with the notes.

1265 it follows that the beginnings of this dynasty may at the earliest be placed about 900. The history of *Mārwar* is just as unsatisfactorily treated in books, to the unreliableness whereof also the uncritical manner in which they have been used, must be added. The name of the oldest chronicle of this country is *Sūryaprakāṣa* and its author is *Kaṛṇidhar* who lived under the prince *Abhayasinha* that died in 1724¹. A record work of this kind is the *Rājārūpa-ākṣānta*, i.e. Royal Tales, which is of a still later date than the just mentioned one. There exist also other similar compilations, the royal dynasty reigning in Marwar belongs to that of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa Rājaputras*, as it is called in the learned language of the Brahmans, and *Rahtore* in the vernaculars, and derives itself quite arbitrarily from the ancient epic king *Yuvanāśva*². His successor *Nayanapāla* is said to have been king of *Kāṇyakubja* or *Kanoj*; of his son *Punya*, *Dharma Bhanber* was the son; from him thirty great dynasties are derived all of which made great conquests and bore the epithet *Karmadhva*; he himself had that of *Dāneṣa Karmadhva*. His successors were called *Ajayacandra*, *Udayacandra*, *Nṛpati* and *Kanakasena*³. The latter we find more correctly adduced among the rulers of *Mālava*, and at the time when *Nayanapāla* is according to the remaining representation said to have ruled in *Kāṇyakubja*, the *Gupta*'s reigned there⁴. *Nayanapāla*

1. James Tod, II. p. 7. foll.

2. s. above II. P. 37 and *ibid.* Note 1.

3. James Tod, II. p. 16.

4. s. above II. P. 37 and 751 and Wilson's remark to *Sanskrit inscriptions*, by (the late) Capt. E. Fell. in *As. Res.* XV P. 465. One of the latter was called *Nayapāla*.

belonged probably to the dynasty, whose members bore names terminating with *Pāla*, and whose oldest representatives are to be placed into the eighth century. Accordingly Nayanapāla might be the founder of the family of the princes of Marwar. After Kanakasena the following are adduced as rulers of Marwar: *Sahasrasena*, *Meghasena*, *Vīrabhadra*, *Dhanasena II*, *Mukunda*, *Bhadra* (*Bhada*), *Rājyapāla*, *Tripāla*, *S'ripunya*, *Vijayapāla* or *Vijayacandra* lastly *Jayacandra* with the epithet *Dal Pangla* as king of *Kānyakubja*. The last named king appears in inscriptions as a mighty monarch, who had heard his court in that town and succumbed towards the end of the twelfth century in the contest against the Muhammadan emperor *Shahāb-eddīn*, but had quite different ancestors than those attributed to him in the history of Marwar¹.

Herefrom it is evident that the historians of Marwar have quite arbitrarily dragged the celebrated ruler of *Kānyakubja* into their history. The only reason for it is the circumstance, that he belonged to another branch of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*; of the kings of Marwar only the thirteen between him and *Kanakasena* can be considered as real rulers of this country, the oldest of whom can have governed only as late as the eighth century, as has been assumed

1. Colebrooke's *On Ancient Monuments, containing Sanskrit Inscriptions*, in his *Miss. Ess.* II, p. 266 and *Note on a Copper Land Grant by Jaya Chandra* in the *J. of the As. S. of B.* X, p. 164. According to the last inscription, these kings considered themselves as the descendants of the ancient *Candranāga* or Lunar-race, and it is accordingly dubious, whether the old *Yuvnāga* who belongs to the old *Sāryavāga* or Solar-race, is really represented as the ancestor of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*.

already before. From *Sivajit* the grandson of *Jayacandra* afterwards the royal family reigning in *Jodhapura* was derived¹. He fled to the desert and settled in *Khor* on the *Larani* in the year 1210. As this event falls into the next period of Indian history, I need not treat it here more accurately, but shall only remark, that *Bleka* the son of *Jodha* laid in 1446, the foundation for the dominion of this dynasty of *Rājaputras* in *Bikanir* in the desert.

The manner in which the oldest history of *Jassalmir* has come down to us in the chronicle of this State, deserves no credit at all, especially as it has no doubt been augmented by foreign additions². According to it, i.e. there is a statement said to exist in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* to the effect that after the destruction of the anciently famous race of the *Yādavas* and their capital *Dvārakā*, *Naba* the grandson of Krishna fled to *Marusthala* in the Indus-desert and founded there a kingdom. His sixth successor *Jaya* is said to have carried on a war with Rome, and that his son *Subāhu* fell fighting against the Shah of Khorasan. It needs scarcely be expressly remarked that this tale has no historical value at all. The earliest well-authenticated event in the history of the state of *Jassalmir* is, that at the time of *Mahmud* of Ghazna, it is expressly related

1. James Tod, II. p. 18.

2. James Tod, p. 216 and his *Comparison on the Hindu and Theban Hercules illustrated by an ancient Intaglio* in Trans. of the R. As. S. III. p. 156 foll. According to this representation on the other hand the descendants of *Nāba* founded a kingdom in *Zabulistan* which they governed for some time. By this name the Arab geographers designate the region between Ghazna and Kandahar in the E. and Segestan in the W.

of *Ānandapāla* (whose name Muhammadan authors corrupt to *Anaṅpāla* and who succeeded in the year 1004 to his father *Jayapāla*, the lord of eastern Kabulistan, of the Penjāb, and of the land adjoining to the east as far as Delhi) that he governed this region ¹. The name *Bacera* attributed to the sub-king of Ānandapāla, who resided at Jassalmir, is no doubt a corruption.

The same character of unreliableness manifests itself also in the earlier portion of the history of that portion of upper Rājasthan, which is called Amber or Dhandhar. The first name is disfigured from *Amara* the name of an old capital of the country. The princes of this country derive themselves from *Kuṇa* one of the sons of *Rāma*; one of his successors is said to have founded *Rōtas* in *Bandelakhanda* ². Among his successors also *Nala* is remembered who is celebrated by his well known poem and from the name of his ancestor *Nishadha* the conclusion is drawn that he had in the *Samvat*-year 351 or 274 after Chr. founded the town called *Naishadha*. His successors called themselves *Pāla* down to the thirty-third *Saurasinha*, i.e. lion from the dynasty of the descendants of the sungod. On account of their reputed descent these kings must have considered themselves as a branch of the ancient *Sūryavaṇṣa* or solar-race. *Saurasinha* was compelled to abandon his paternal inheritance, and his son *Dholarāja* founded in the *Samvat* year 1023 or 966.

1. On the coins of the dynasty of Hindu kings of Kabul. By Edward Thomas Esq. B. C.S. in the J. of the R. A.S.S. IX, p. 186 and Reinaud Mémoire &c. sur l' Inde p. 253.

2. James Todd, II. p. 345 foll.

the town of Dhandhar. This event may properly be considered as the initial point of the real history of this State. Besides the preceding one there exists only one reigning dynasty, of Rājaputras, whose time is by historians placed into an earlier time. This is according to the most correct form the *Cāhumana*-dynasty, which reigned at various times in *Ajamīdha* or *Ajmīr* in *Sākambharī* and in *Delhi* as well as in *Hārāvātī* or *Haranti*. It belongs to the four royal dynasties which were called *Agnikula*¹. On the origin of this name: *Race of fire* or of the *Fire-god* we learn nothing particular; they most probably derived themselves from *Agni* the god of fire. The names of the three other dynasties were *Solanki*, *Prāmāra* and *Pārihāra*. On their derivation the author of the history of the *Rājaputras* gives us two representations. According to the first it is at home in *Mukāvati* in Jarha Maṇḍala in the upper Narmadā valley. A great portion of them is said to have emigrated towards the south, whilst *Ajaypāla* proceeded at a time which cannot be determined more nearly, to the north and settled in *Ajmīr*; his twenty-four sons

1. James Todd, II. p. 493 and his *Translation of a Sanskrit inscription relative to the last Hindu king of Delhi, with comments thereon* in the *Trans. of the R. As. S. I.* p. 136. Tod explains the name as produced by the element of fire, whilst the other dynasties ascribe to them larger and more splendid regions than ancestors. It is more suitable to attribute their origin to *Agni* the god of fire, especially as the ancestor of *Cāhumāna* is also called the protector of fire. According to Colebrooke's remarks in this *Translation of an inscription on the Pillar of Delhi, called Lat of Firūz Shāh* in his *Misc. Ess.* II, p. 236 among the various forms *Cauhan*, *Cāhuvān* and *Bahavāna* the first mentioned one is the principal. In the vernaculars the name is usually *Cohan*.

filled the country with their posterity. *Kand* or more correctly *Kandra* the most celebrated lord of the *Rājaputras* represents the matter quite differently. According to him the three great gods *Brahmā*, *Vishṇu* and *Śiva* met on mount *Arbuda*, in order to create by means of *Paraśu Rāma* new warrior races after the extirpation of the *Kṣatriya* families¹. Apart from this utilisation of the old Epic legend in order to impart a divine origin to the dynasties glorified by him, the representation of the poet is in material points very likely in conformity with the truth, and the oldest seats of the *Agnikulas* have correctly been pointed out by him. According to former researches one of the four *Agnikulas*, namely that of the *Prāmāras* is mentioned by *Ptolemy* under the name *Porvaroi*, which is in the vernaculars *Povar* and is still preserved in *Povargaḍa* or *Povarghar*, i.e. fort of the *Povar*'s, the ancient capital of *Kampanir* in northern *Guzerat*². But as according to the Alexandrian geographer the *Porvaroi* dwelt in inner India between the rivers *Tāmasā* and *S'ona* and a plain trace of their presence exists in North *Guzerat*, mount *Arbuda* presents itself as a suitable point of exit from which the warrior races here in question, spread in various directions.

The oldest seat of the dominion of the *Cāhumānas* was *S'ākambharī*. Between their oldest prince *Agnipāla* and *Mānikya-Rāja* who is placed in the *Samvat*-year 740 or 741, consequently 693 or 694 after Chr., the genealogical lists adduce many

1. On this extirpation see above Ia. p. 714 foll.

2. s. above p. 150.

names. Among these besides *Ajayapála* also a *Candragupta* occurs¹. He may perhaps have been the *Gupta*-king who reigned on the Indus, and sent in the year 502 an embassy to China². On account of the not too great distance of Ajmír from Sindh it may be suspected that it constituted at that time a portion of the empire of the later Guptas. The statement that the town of Ajmír was founded by *Ajayapála* is contradicted by the other according to which Śākambharī is said to have been the earliest seat of the power of the *Cáhumānas*. There is no objection against the assertion that Manikya Rāja had at the same time possessed this town and Ajmír; on the other hand it is doubtful whether he had according to one passage lost Ajmír, or according to another the town *Garh-Billi* against the Arabs who are said to have at that time undertaken their attacks of inner India from Sindh³. Between him and *Viçáladeva* who is, in an inscription on the column of Açoka in Delhi, dated *Samvat* 1220 or 1163, called king of *Cākambhari*⁴.

1. James Tod contradicts himself, because in his *Annals of Rajasthan* II p. 444, he inserts between the two above mentioned monarchs only six names, but on the other hand says 1. q. w. in the *Transactions of the R. As. S. II. P. 140* that there exists a long list. James Prinsep has in his *Useful Tales* II. P. 104 inserted six kings between *Agajapála* and *Mónikja-Rāga* from Wilford's *Essay on Vikramāditya and Sativāhana* in *As. Res.* IX P. 187 foll. Which deserve however no credit on account of the well known unreliableness of that author.

2. S. above III p. 751.

3. James Tod's *Annals &c. of Rajasthan* II. p. 432 and in the *Trans. of the R. As. S. I. P. 140*.

4. Colebrooke *ibid* p. 225. The relation of *Viçáladeva* to *Vigraha Rāja* who is in the Indian inscription called king of *Cākambhari* was probably, that the first was supreme king, and the second sub-king in *Cākambhari*.

The lists of the Cāhumāna princes now in question, mention only eleven names. Accordingly we are compelled to move the Mānikya-Rāja down into the ninth century, and to consider the earlier history of the Cāhumānas in upper Rajasthan as entirely untrustworthy. Herefrom it follows that the attacks of the Arabs on his country, must be rejected as a fiction, as has been remarked already above.

From the preceding discussion we obtain the result, that the claims of the historians of the Rājaputra States situated in Hindustan, to carry back their history into a comparatively early time, cannot stand any critique. In the separate states the case is as follows. For *Marwar* the sure history begins only with the commencement of the eighth century ; the earliest reliable events in the history of the *Cāhumāna's* occur only in the 9th century ; in that of *Mewar* we meet with such only about 900 and *Jassalmīr* only shortly before 1000. Of the earlier time only legendary traditions survive, to which a historical base can be allowed, but they are chiefly fictions only.

To the history of the northern States of the Rājaputras the inscriptions furnish no supplements to their histories composed by authors, as is the case with the Rājaputra kingdoms of the Dekhan ; their history possesses besides the advantage, that by means of the inscriptions it can be carried back into the middle of the fifth century.

In the history of *Assam* and of the adjoining regions we experience the great power of the epic legend among the Indians, as well as its great

propagations down to the present time plainly before our eyes. *Kāmarūpa* or Anterior Assam appears as the initial point from which the Brahmanic religion and the higher civilization of the Aryan Indians were spread over these regions. The oldest mention of this tract of land occurs in the inscription of *Samudragupta*¹. Herefrom it is clear that this eastern region had been incorporated into the union of the countries governed by Indian monarchs. For the first accurate description of this country we are indebted to the Chinese pilgrim *Hiuen Tshang* who spent the greatest portion of his sojourn in foreign countries (619 till 645) in India². It was a flat and moist country; it possessed regular fields and harvests of corn; the bread-fruit-trees and the cotton trees grew there numerously and their products were highly esteemed, the towns were surrounded by rivers, lakes and morasses. The climate was temperate. The morals of the inhabitants were pure and virtuous; they themselves were of small stature, and their faces had a blackish complexion. Their language was different from that of the inhabitants of India. The inhabitants manifested a wild, passionate character; but they greatly esteemed learning. They adored the *Devas* and believed not in the law of *Buddha*. A consequence thereof was that no convents had yet been built there; till that time only one institution of this kind existed to attract pious men. If accidentally men really believing

1. s. above II. p. 953.

2. Stanislas Julien's *Histoire de la vie de Hiuen Tshang* p. 228 foll. and specially p. 390.

in Buddha happened to be there, they secretly professed their religion. There were hundreds of temples of the *Devas* and about ten thousand unbelievers, by whom according to the context Non-Brahmanic temple-priests are meant. The reigning king derived himself from *Nārāyaṇa* or *Vishṇu* and belonged to the Brahman caste. His name was *Bhāskaravarman*, i. e. sun-cuirass, and he assumed the title *Kumāra*. From the foundation of the kingdom till that time ten thousand generations were counted which are said to have succeeded each other. The prince of the country was much addicted to learning, and his people followed his example. By the fame of his justice, men of talent were induced to travel from distant countries to Kāmarūpa. Although its king believed not in the law of *Buddha*, he nevertheless showed great respect to *S'ramaṇa*'s endowed with great learning. Therefore he had invited the celebrated traveller to whom we are indebted for this narrative, to visit him ; he was however hindered from complying with the invitation of Kumāra, on account of *S'ilāditya* the much mightier king of *Kānyakubja*.

In order entirely to understand the whole significance of Kāmarūpa for the propagation of the Brahmanic religion and his endeavor to carry higher civilisation into the adjoining countries, it is necessary to add, that in the most ancient times the limits of his kingdom were much more extensive than afterwards. They extended namely to the confluent of the Ganges with the Brahma-

putra and included the greatest portion of the present Assam. To it belonged also Rangapura (Rangpur) and Rangamati and most probably its home was extended to Manipura, Silhet and Kacar'. Therefore we must not wonder if the Brahmanic Indians, who settled in Kâmarûpa brought there their epic legend and propagated it. According to the traditions of the Assamese and the inhabitants of *Kaccha Behar*; *Kṛishṇa* presented *Asura* or *Dâna* *Naraka* with the country, the protector of which he was to be, and gave him the appellation of *Kâmakhyā*, i.e. lovely-named and divided the country into four districts². According to the Epic legend contained in the *Mahâbhârata* *Naraka* dwelt in the *Prâgyotisha* or West-Butan. Afterwards he lost the favour of *Krishna*, because he was a worshipper of *S'iva*. Therefore he was killed by *Krishna* and in his stead *Bhagadatta* was installed as king of Kâmarûpa, in one passage he is called the son of *Naraka*. The consequence of the transference of this legend to Kâmarûpa must have been, that this event has been placed into the earliest time of the great battle. According to the report of the Chinese pilgrim *Hiuen T'sang* the inhabitants of Kâmrûpa ascribe a much higher age to the

1. Captain Fisher's *Memoir of Sylhet Kachar and the adjacent districts* in the S. of the A. S. of B. IX p. 824 foll. and William Robinson's *A Descriptive Account of Assam* P. 146.

2. W. Robinson, *History of Cutch Bihar, being an extract of a passage from Dr. Buchanan's Account of Rangpoor* in the J. of the A. S. of B. VII 27 foll. This article has afterwards been reprinted in Montgomery Mastin's *Eastern India* III P. 403 foll. On *Naraka*, *Prâgyotisha* and *Bhagadatta* s. above I. P. 551 P. 552 with note 2 and P. 694.

foundation of their kingdom. From the epic legend also the circumstance was borrowed that *Bhagadatta* is in the great battle killed by the Panduide *Arjuna* the only noteworthy moment of the legend here represented is, that the inhabitants of Kâmarûpa were already worshippers of *Vishnu*, and that an attempt of the Śivaïtes thereto introduce the worship of *Śiva* was hindered by the Vishṇuvites, which is expressed by Naraka having been killed by Kṛishna because he worshipped Śiva. In concert herewith we find that in the first century after Chr. Vishṇuism was propagated from inner to Further India ¹. As according to the indisputable testimony of *Hiuen Tshang*, in the first moiety of the seventh century *Nārāyaṇa* must have been worshipped in Kâmarûpa, because its king asserted himself to be a descendant of this god, a tradition there existing in a writing called *Yoginîtantra* and there possessing the greatest vouchers of authenticity, cannot be considered correct ².

According to it in the first year of the Śaka-era or 78 after Chr. during the reign of king *Divyeçvara* the goddess *Kāmeçvarî* or *Kāmākhyâ* who had till that time been known only to scholars, is said to have been introduced among the people. Eighteen years afterwards the worship of the *Linga* or *Phallus* is said to have found admittance here. The above mentioned king is considered as belonging to the *Dhvâr*-tribe, which name is usually given

1. S. above II. p. 1003.

2. Bachanan, Op. cit. p. 5.

to the mixed cast of the *Kaivartas*, fishermen and sailors, whilst according to another passage of the same book the oldest kings of this country were *S'údras*. After an interval of time not given, the first king was succeeded by *Jaleçvara*, who still more favoured *Linga*-worship, which is 'still kept up in the temple of *Galpis*. Near it great ruins, ascribed to the ancient king *Prithu*, occur. Already the title of the treatise from which this legend is taken, shows, that it belongs to a tolerably late time. From the worship of *Vishnu* in *Kâmarûpa*, which still continued after 600, it is plain that *Śaivism* had found entrance there only towards 700. The name of the goddess *Kâmeçvarî* or *Kâmâkhyâ* is that of a form of the *S'ākta* goddesses or personifications of the enemies of the gods in the shape of goddesses. A temple yet existing in *Kâmarûpa* is dedicated to her¹. The assertion that this name had been attributed to the whole country, is an invention of the author of the treatise in question; the usual name is known from *Kâlidâsa*². *Kâmeçvarî*, or *Kâmâkhyâ* was probably at the same time and in the beginning a goddess of love; a temple of her husband is mentioned by *Bhavabhūti* about 700³. The names *Divyeçvara* and *Jaleçvara* are inventions of the author of the *Yoginītantra*. The first name means the *heavenly lord*, the second

1. Buchanan, op. cit. p. 4.

2. s. His *Raghuvamça* IV. p. 84 and 85. In him it designates only *Kâmarûpa* in the narrower sense of this signification, which means lovely-formed, and was originally probably used in the first sense only.

3. s. his *Mâlātīmādhava* p. 13 and on his time above II, p. 1160.

the lord of the subdued reciting of prayers ; Prithu on the other hand belongs to the ancient legend, in which he appears as the restorer of the laws¹.

The only statement of the abovementioned treatise which can be used for the history of Kâmarûpa is that the kings of Kâmarûpa were of low origin, be it that they were *Sûdras* or *Kaivartas*. This circumstance leads to the suspicion, namely that in the government of this country a revolution had taken place and that the other Brahmanic dynasty had been excluded by another of low origin, supposing which is highly probable considering the proximity of the two countries, that Kaccha Bihar and Kâmarûpa formed one single State.

If we correct this report with the historical traditions of the *Kacaris* who were formerly settled in Kâmarûpa, and whose regions are in the North bounded by Assam, in the East by Manipura, in the South by Tripura, and in the west by Silhet, who further manifest themselves by language, religion and manners as a separate nation². The suspicion presents itself, that the king who destroyed Brahmanic dominion in Kâmarûpa, in no other than *Ho-tsang-sa* who had been about one thousand years ago or about 820

1. s. above I. p. 798 note 4. According to the tradition current in Kaccha Bihar he was a holy sage who dreaded defilement from the despised impurely living *Kî-cakas*. These are a kind of gipsies, who roamed about in northern India, and lived on thieving and soothsaying ; S. Buchanar, p. 406.

2. Fisher, *ibid.* p. 829 foll. and W. Robinson, *ibid.* p. 399.

expelled from Kāmarūpa by the ruler of Kaccha Bihar, and had afterwards retired to Kacar or Hirumba or more correctly *Hidimbā* where his race has yet maintained itself¹. That this attack of the king of Kaccha Bihar on Kacar had been occasioned by priests, is confirmed by their tradition that that prince was preceded by Brhmans riding on cows, whom the Kacaris did not dare to oppose. For the earlier presence of a non-Aryan Indian nation also the circumstance speaks that according to the testimony of *HienTshang*, the inhabitants of Kāmarūpa did not speak the Indian language². The new reigning family in Kaccha Bihar was no doubt a branch of the Pāla dynasty known to us from several inscriptions as well as from the testimony of *Abulfazl* and *Ticffendhaler* and which was powerful in eastern India in the ninth century. For this supposition the chronicles of the Assamese themselves may be adduced. The treatise of this kind deserving most confidence is entitled *Assam-barangi* and its author is *Halirām Daikial Phukon* of Gomati; it is dated in the year 1236 of the Bengal era or 1829 after Chr.³

1. The Kings of Kacar considered themselves as descendants of *Bhtma*, the 2nd son of *Iāṇṇu*, and the giantess *Hidimbā*. The Kacaris place in their country the murder of the brother of this giantess, on whom s. above I, p. 663 and W. Robinson.

2. s. above p. 467.

3. James Prinsep's *Useful Tables* II p. 117. According to Buchanan in the As. S. of. B. VII, p. 16 as well as in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, III. p. 419 the 916th year of the Bengali Era answers to the 1509th of the Christian era. In the present case probably the special Era current in Kaccha Bihar must be understood

According to this representation of the Assamese history, first a dynasty of *Kṣatriyas* appears, which is carried down to *Dharmapila*, who invited Brahmans from *Gauḷa* to his court in the north of Brahmaputra. After this dynasty follows that called *Brahmaputra*, which maintained a dominion that lasted two hundred and forty years. As its successor an *Induvamṣa* or dynasty originating from the moon is adduced, the beginnings of which are placed into the year before 1200¹. According to this determination the dominion of the *Pālas* would have reached its end about 950, which may agree with the truth, because according to a former remark they reigned in the eighth and ninth century². According to another old chronicle the names of the earlier kings of Assam which had become known to the author were as follows :

because otherwise in Bengal the śaka Era is used. See. James Prinsep *ibid.* p. 22. According to the remark of the same scholar in the first place Buchanan's representation of the Assamese history begins to deserve confidence only with the year 1689 from the reign of *Rudrasinha*.

1. This date results because *Āśmacandra* the fourth king of the third dynasty, and the first whose time is given in the chronicles, is placed into the year 1160 of the *Śaka-era* namely into 1238-1239; see the dissertation to be adduced below of A. P. Westmacott.—Buchanan calls the first prince of dynasty which answers¹ to that of the *Brahmaguptas* in the chronicle *Atladhvaja* whilst in it he is called *Snsānku* or *Arimater*; S. *ibid.* p. I. His supposition, that his grandson *Nilāmbara* the contemporary of the king of Bengal was *Husain Shāh* who undertook in 1498 a campaign against Assam, is worthless.

2. s. above p. 472.

Lokapāla, *Subuhu* (*Subrhu?*) *pāla*, *Japandu* (*Japanta?*)-*pāla*, *Haripāla*, *Dharmapāla*, *Rāmapāla*, *Pakypāla*, *Cantrapāla*, *Nārāyaṇapāla*, *Amarapāla*, *Mantripāla*, *Harmapāla*, *S'yūmapāla*, *Mantripāla*, *S'rīpāla*, *Ganṭhapāla*, *Mādhuba* (*Mūdhava?*)-*pāla* and *Lāhikya* (*Lauhitya?*)-*pāla* who terminates this series of the rulers of Assam¹. Now we have in an inscription found in Dinajpur the following names of the Pāla-Kings: *Lokapāla*, *Dharmapāla*, then an illegible name, after him *Jayapāla* and *Devapāla*; the other names need not be communicated on this occasion².

1. *Papers on Ancient Sanskrit grants, discovered in Assam, Communicated by Major F. Jenkins, Governor-General's agent N. E. Frontier* in the J. of the As. S. of B. VII. p. 766 foll. The minister of *Subāhu* was called *Sumati*; after him are mentioned *Ksetrigetor* and his son *Subalika*; then seven names ending with *Nārāyaṇa*; lastly *Rāmacandra*. These were sub-kings in *Barcesidega* which, as is here observed, contains the districts *Cateya Cārdvar Navadvār*, and *Candvar*. The names of the princes of the second dynasty are here: *Mināṅka Jayāṅka*, *Sukanāṅka*, *Mṛṇāṅka Phingna*, and others whose name have been omitted. The last answers to the second of the *Brahmaputra-dynasty*, by James Prinsep *Phingaya*.

2. *Colebrooke's On ancient Monuments, containing Sanskrit inscriptions* in his *Misc. Ess.* II p. 280 and G. L. Westmacott's *Description of Ancient Temples and Ruins at Chādwār in Assam* in the J. of the As. S. of B. IV. p. 181 foll. who had found his data in a book not more nearly designated. According to it *Rāmacandra* was the twenty-fourth prince of the country, which formed a portion of *Kāmarūpa*, and the 11th king of the 3rd dynasty; *Subāhu* was the thirteenth monarch of the whole series and the ninth and last prince of the last dynasty. He was conquered by *Vikramāditya* and his successor's name was *Jaitari* who was a pious *Chaturī* from *Dabera* in Dekhan and conquered *Kāmarūpa*. Then he took the title *Dharmapāla* and was the predecessor of *Rāmacandra* and began his reign in 1238-1239. The bringing in of *Vikramāditya* into the history of Assam shows the unreliableness of this representation of Assamese history. Also the names attributed to the founder of the new dynasty, cannot really have been such, but were

In this list the *Lokapála* agrees with the one mentioned in the list contained in the Assamese chronicle; then follow two names peculiar to the Assamese, *Japanda* (*Japanta*?) *pála* and *Haripála* instead of which the inscription presents an illegible name and then *Jayapála*. This circumstance leads to the suspicion, that after the first monarch of the *Pála*-dynasty, who had subjugated a part of Assam,

invented, because *Jetri* (*Jetar*) in Sanskrit victor, and *Chatrin* the possessor of the umbrella, designates the possessor of a well known symbol of the royal dignity. It may however be correct that *Subôhu* belonged to the second dynasty because his name is wanting in the inscription of Anguchi in Dinajpur and because according to one chronicle nine princes are said to have reigned 240 years, whereby each of them obtains a reign of 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ years. It may likewise be correct that the founder of the new dynasty assumed the name of *Dharmapála* because the bearer of this name was so celebrated in the history of Assam. According to the manuscripts which Westmacott *ibid*, p. 192 had consulted and which partly again differ from each other, *Râmacandra* had four successors, the last of whom was called *Sakrank* and with whom the *Jaitari*-dynasty terminated in the year 1478-1479, consequently after a dominion of 240 years, which time belongs according to the first chronicle to the *Brahmaputra*-dynasty; but here we obtain 14 kings instead of 9. Whether this be correct or not is tolerably indifferent; but I cannot consider the time ascribed to *Râmacandra* and to his successors as the correct one, because thereby the *Pála* dynasty is too much moved down. Hereto it is yet to be added that *Râmacandra* is the first king of Assam, whose date is given in the book here quoted. In a list communicated by *Jenkins* but not noticed by *James Prinsep* S. G. of the As. S. B. IX. p. 779. *Candragupta* is the seventh successor of *Jaitari*; after him follow: *Japandu* (*Japanta*?) *pála*, *Haripála*, *Dharmapála*, then two princes not named, then *Candrapála*, hence on the whole thirteen. The supposition elsewhere broached s. *ibid* by the editor, that this *Râmapála* is no other than *Râmacandra* has the difference of both names against itself; still more however that, that *Haripála* is the same with *Vanamala*; according to the inscription namely his father was called *Hagara*, and *Dharmapála* is not at all mentioned in this inscription. *Vanamala* belongs to the *Brahmagupta*-dynasty, as will be shown afterwards.

a partition of the kingdom took place, which was again united by *Dharmapāla*, but fell again to pieces after his death, because after his name the inscription presents others than the Assamese lists. That king is praised by the Assamese also on account of his piety and of his works¹. Under him the worship of *S'iva* seems first to have attained a wider propagation, at least in Anterior Assam and in Kaccha Bihar, because his wife *Mināvatī* is said to have conferred the office of a *Guru* or teacher in spiritual matters, not on a Brahman but on a *Yogin*. The *Yogins*, as we know, are the special worshippers of this god. Herewith also the previously communicated information agrees that *Dharmapāla* called Brahmans to his court. As it does not belong hereto to deal more specially of this event, I confine myself to the remark that with reference to the religion the Pālas are divided into two parts. Those among them who governed the eastern countries, were inclined towards the doctrines of the Brahmans, whilst the rulers of the western regions of this dynasty gave preference to the laws of *Buddha*. Lastly, as far as the chronology is concerned, *Dharmapāla* had according to the most complete enumeration of his successors, thirteen, and according to the shorter one, on the contrary, only five; as however the last in the least accredited one, we may ascribe to *Dharmapāla* at least nine successors.

1. Buchanan in the J. of the As. S. of B. VII, p. 5, or Eastern India, III. p. 405 foll. Here the improbable information occurs that *Dharmapāla* was killed by his brother *Manicandra*, and that the latter was succeeded by another prince called *Gopācandra*.

If we place the end of the *Pála* princes in the eastern region of their dominion according to the most probable calculations in 960, we must place the beginnings of the power of this dynasty widely spread in the east, into a considerably long time before 800 or perhaps about 760. With this opinion also the assumption of the scholars agrees who have more closely investigated this subject of *Dharmapála*; it is yet to be mentioned, that in Assam there exist several of his inscriptions on copper-plates, and dated in the year 36'. This date most probably refers to an era introduced by *Lokapála* and used by the Assamese. *Dharmapála* may be considered as the ruler of Kaccha Bihar, who there overthrew the power of the *Kacaris*.

To the investigation on the first beginnings of the history of *Nepála*, which country is first mentioned in the inscription of *Samudragupta* before 230 after Chr. and which appears here for the first time in the history of India². The unreliable representation of its earliest history in the indigenous traditions opposes itself³. Thereby the most suitable start is made that *Rághavadeva* introduced in the year 880 after Chr. the *Sambat* era or that of *Vikramáditya*, because it is no other than the era of *Newar*, by which name the inhabitants of Nepal

1. J. of the As. S. of B. IV. p. 779 and W. Robinson, *ibid* p. 109 where it is mentioned that his dominion in the valley of the Brahmaputra extended as far up as Tezpat where these inscriptions have been found.

2. s. above II. p. 953.

3. *An account of Nepal being the substance of observations made during a mission to that country in the year 1793.* By Colonel Kirkpatrick p. 262 foll.

proper are designated, because this circumstance points out that from that year their chronology and their history have begun to be more reliable. The designation of this era at the same time with that of *Vikramāditya* can here only mean that at first the *Newar* calculated according to luni-solar years, but afterwards used the *Saka*-epoch which is calculated according to solar years¹. Of the earlier time on the other hand it must be decidedly denied, although not only the years, but also the months of the reigns of the separate kings are added to their names. Hereto it must yet be added that the total numbers, of the separate dynasties do not agree with the numbers, which result from the addition of the years of the separate reigns. At the head of the Nepalese history stands *Niyama Muni* the *Muni* or holy man of the subjection². According to the legend he is said first to have executed the valley filled by waters and to have made it habitable for men. Accordingly *Niyama Muni* represents the *Kāçyapa* of the Kāçmīrian tradition, who drew out the *Jalodbhava* gestating in the waters and formed the land³.

1. That this era is also that of the *Newar's* appears from the remark that they possess an era of unknown origin, the 408th year of which answers to the *Samvat* year 1344. As this year answers to the 1237th year of the Christian era, we obtain for the beginning of the *Newar*-era 879. The difference is satisfactorily explained from the different beginnings of the year.

2. According to Kirkpatrick he was called *Naimani*, on the other hand *Muni Niyama* according to Francis Hamilton's *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal and the Territories annexed to their dominion by the house of the Gorkhā*, p. 187.

3. *Rāja-Tarangīnī* I, 22. *Jalodbhava* means: derived from the water,

Niyana Muni was succeeded by eight, or according to the enumeration by eleven kings with 491 years and 4 months¹. Among the names those ending with *Gupta* are: *Premnagupta*, *Jayagupta*, *Bhīmagupta*, *Manigupta*, *Viṣṇugupta* and *Jayagupta II*. As it is certain, that the older *Guptas* reigned in *Nepala* at least after the reign of *Samudragupta*, which he began in 230,² *Samudragupta* had probably installed one of his relatives in Nepal as sub-king, as his successor *Candragupta* did in Kaṣmīra, with which country he presented *Mūtrigupta*³. Their dominion in Nepal must have attained its end in the year 319 and may have begun before *Samudragupta*, because six vassal-kings are adduced in Nepal.

They were followed by a dominion of the *Kirātas*, by which name a tribe of *Bhoṭas* yet existing in Nepal, is called. Of this dynasty 27 princes with 1630 years are adduced⁴. The next rulers were *Rājaputras* from the *Sūryavarman* the ancient solar-race. They belonged to two families, which are distinguished from each other by the additions *varman* and *deva* to their names. After thirty-three monarchs of this race had governed Nepal, their power was overthrown by the younger *Guptas* three of whom, namely *Viṣṇugupta*, *Kṛishṇagupta* and *Bhūmigupta* reigned after each other. If they are called *Aḥir* or the original rulers of the

1. The separate reigns give only 111 years and 7 months.

2. s. above II. p. 961 and II, App. p. XXX.

3. s. above II, p. 961.

4. The separate reigns give only 1470 years.

country, this expression is a misunderstanding either of the indigenous traditionalists or of the European informant of this statement, because *Ahir* is a corruption of the *Sanskrit*-word *Ābhira* cow-herd. The second expression probably implies that the *Gupta*-dynasty was the oldest, whose dominion was remembered by the Nepalese, but who were no longer able to distinguish between the two dynasties. After a transient dominion of the *Kirātas*, to which much too long a duration is ascribed, they again, recovered their power in Nepal, probably during the course of the fifth century, because their reign continued for such a time¹. The later *Guptas* maintained their power in this country till 530 as will afterwards appear. After some time the *Newari* or indigenous dynasty was again restored by *S'ivadeva-varman*, whose name indicates that by his relationship to the two families of the royal dynasty he united the claims of both. After fortyfive princes of the house of these *Rājaputras* had been sitting on the throne of Nepal, their dominion was overthrown by *Harisimhadeva* the king of Sirmor, in the year 1323.

The total number of the reigns of the monarchs of Nepal is not indicated, but must have amounted to 3085 years, as shall appear from the following remarks. The first king after *Niyama Muni*, *Bharimahāgoh* is placed 3803 bef. Chr. the two first dynasties reigned together 2121 years. According to the indigenous dynasty the third dynasty accordingly began to reign on 1682 bef. Chr. If to this

1. s. above II, p. 751.

number that of 1323 after Chr. be added we obtain 3005 for the reign of the third dynasty¹.

From the preceding representation of the chronology and history of the oldest times, traditional in Nepal, it appears sufficiently, that neither of them deserves confidence, and that we have a right to diminish the numbers and to remove a considerable number of princes, because they are invented to fill out with names the older periods of history. Neither the traditional number 3803 bef. Chr. nor that of 1623 resulting from separate reigns affords a suitable beginning². If we consider that the isolated numbers are very insecure, we might suspect that the Nepalese had begun their history with the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* or 3102 bef. Chr. How incredible their previous history is, is also further shown by the circumstance that *Āra-muṇḍi* a king of their country, who carried on a war between 754 and 785 with the sovereign of Kaçmîra³ is not adduced in the list of Nepalese

1. James Prinsep has in his *Useful Tables* II, p. 114 in such a manner reduced the traditional numbers, that he ascribes to each reign 18 years, but this proceeding affords no certainty. Francis Hamilton who communicates in 1. p. 119 foll. nothing of the history of Nepal not already contained in Kirkpatrick, rectifies the traditional numbers according to reasons which are not clear. According to him these data are said to be contained in the *Harimatakânḍa* and in the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*. If this were really the case, this portion ought to exist as an addition in the *Purâṇa* of this title composed in Nepal.

2. The sum total of the reigns of the separate dynasties before 1246 after Chr. amounts according to the isolated assumptions only to 2869 years, or 623 bef. Chr.

3. Râja-Taraṅgiṇī, IV, 530 foll. and A. Troyer's list of the Kaçmîrian kings in his ed. II, p. 366.

monarchs. As the state of this contest does not pertain hereto, I need not at present say anything more on this event. The only facts important for the older history of Nepal, which result from the preceding history, are those that the more reliable history of Nepal begins only in 880 after Chr. and that before this time the older and the younger *Guptas* had reigned in Nepal. Whether the *Rājaputra* princes of the Newars justly maintain that they are descendants of the *Sūryavaṃṣa* or solar-race of the ancient Indian kings may properly be doubted, because this is an usual custom with the princes of the adjacent Indian Low-country, whose example the Nepalese *Rājaputras* may have followed in this case ¹. A little later than among them the earliest historical remembrances begin in *Almora* which is situated west of Nepal, where according to the statement of a Nepalese Brahman *Asamti* is said to have founded a kingdom before about eight hundred years ².

Although strictly taken it does not belong to this place I nevertheless consider it proper here to observe, that the Brahmanic religion had found entrance into Nepal earlier than has been hitherto supposed. This assertion is justified by the names of the Gupta-Kings *Vishṇugupta* and *Krishṇagupta*. This phenomenon agrees with the fact that the older *Guptas* tried to propagate the worship of *Vishṇu* ³.

1. The above statement occurs in Francis Hamilton, *ibid.*, p. 13.

2. Francis Hamilton, *ibid.*, p. 13.

3. s. above II. p. 1002.

From the occurrence of the name *Śiva* in several later royal names of the two divisions of the Rājaputra dynasty, the third last of the first is called *Śivaśeva*, and the first of the second *Śivadevaçarman*, it may be concluded, that afterwards Śaivism gained preponderance in Nepal. There, as we know, it exerted great influence on Buddhism. According to a tradition which is not to be rejected, *Nānyupadeva* or more correctly *Nānāyupadeva* founded in the year 1097 Simroum, the ancient capital of the province *Mithilā* situated in the Nepalese Terrai, in the ruins of which statues of idols have been found¹. Accordingly there is no doubt, that at that time at least in this portion of Nepal Brahmans had settled. Accordingly the complete introduction of the Brahmanic religion and legislation into Nepal has probably begun in the year 1306, because after the destruction of *Citor* by the Muhammadans, many Brahmans emigrated to Nepal, and knew how to acquire considerable influence among the indigenous princes². It is also dubious whether Kamāon through which two of the holiest Indian rivers flow, had only as late as 1450 obtained the first Brahman colony through *Thor Candra* from Kānyakubja. It may in conclusion be observed, that yet at the time when *Hiuen Tshang* visited India, Buddhism had found no entrance in

1. *Account of a visit to the Ruins of Simroun, once the capital of the Mithila province.* By B. H. Hodgson, Esq. Resident in Nepal, in the J. of the As. S. of B. IV. p. 121 foll. The name is in the printed *Sloka Nanyadeva*; the correct form is no doubt *Nānāyupadera*.

2. Francis Hamilton op. cit. p. 12 foll. *Citor* was more correctly destroyed in 1305.

Nepal. This is evident from his not mentioning any Buddhist monument of that country¹. It must be reserved for a later portion of this work, to determine at what time the religion of *S'âkyamuni* was from Tibet communicated to the Tibetan tribes in the south of the great mountains of separation, and to the Indians there settled. Only after the time of the introduction of Buddhism the ideas of *Mañjuçrî* can have formed themselves, who had among the Nepalese Buddhist obtained the place of the Brahmanic *Niyama Muni* and who had drained and made habitable to man, the country of Nepal which had before been called *Nâgavâsa*, i.e. habitation of serpents and was but one large lake². He is further considered as the founder of civilised life in Nepal and as the introducer of the religion of *S'âkyamuni* in it. Therefore he does not belong to real history but to that of the Buddhism of Nepal.

Indian literature which displays in other branches such numerous and partly inestimable monuments, is known to be very poor in historical writings, and contains historical books only of two countries which may deserve this name in the higher sense of this expression, and in which the history of the country which they concern is related from the earliest till much later times. These two countries are the northernmost and the southernmost region among many, of which anterior India consists. They are namely *Kaçmîra* and *Laikâ* or the island

1. Stanislas Julien's *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen T'sang* p. 130.

2. Burnouf's *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi* p. 498 foll. of the historical *Manjuçrî* the Indian king and the probable time of his age, I shall treat below.

of Ceylon. As I have on former occasions treated of both these writings and have determined their character and their value¹, I need here to add only a few remarks, and to speak of the continuations of those two works, which are to be used for the period of Indian history now in question.

Of the two last books of the *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī* wherein not so much *Kaḷhaṇa Paṇḍita* as another unknown author had continued the history of his country from 1005 till 1155, the last year of the reign of *Simhadeva*, a translation has afterwards appeared. For the opinion that the author of the seventh and eighth book of the *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī* is the same, with him who wrote the first six ones, although his name may have been *Kaḷhaṇa*, the following arguments militate.² First the circumstance that in several manuscripts of this work the two last books are wanting. Secondly the less correct and select style of the two last books. Thirdly the dissimilarity in the treatment of the matter, because the author of the two last books represents the history of his fatherland much more in detail than *Kaḷhaṇa Paṇḍita*, and not seldom mixes into it quite trifling events, and thereby interrupts the context of the narrative.

2. s. above II p. 14 foll.

1. s. hereon the remarks of A. Troyer in the preface to his translation p. x. foll. the title of which is as follows: *Rādja-Taraṅgiṇī ou histoire des Rois du Kaśmīr Traduite et commentée par A. Troyer, membre des Sociétés Asiatiques de Paris, Londres et Calcutta, président honoraire de la Société ethnologique de Paris et correspondant de l'académie de Turin, et publié au frais de la Société Asiatique, Tome II, Traductions Françaises éclaircissements historiques et géographiques, relatifs au septième et huitième livres. Paris MDCCCL. II.* For the data given in the text I shall afterwards furnish the reasons.

Lastly the references in the two last books to the events contained in the six previous ones, which are partly incorrect. This history has been continued by *Yonarāja* who lived in Kaçmîra during the reign of *Zain-alâbad-eadin* (1416-1466). The Muhammadan king of that country, gained his favour, and terminates the works *Râjâvalī* or series of kings, during the reign of this king. As it appears suitable, preliminarily to continue the history of Kaçmîra only till the end of the indigenous dominions, I need here not to take into account the two latter continuations of the Kaçmîrian history ¹.

Of the *Mahâvança* which is the title of the oldest and most reliable history contained in historical Indian literature, it has been remarked already before, that the continuation of it from the death of *Mahâsena* in the year 302 till the last *Dhâtusena* in the year 477 was probably not composed by *Mahânâma* himself, but by an unknown compatriot of his ². Besides the circumstance that the author of this continuation has made of *Mahendra* the son of *Açoka*, a son of *Buddha*, whilst this representation does not yet occur in the book of *Mahânâma*, it is yet to be added that the commentary to the *Mahâvança* terminates with the death-year of *Mahâsena*, and that the following part of this work

1. The complete title of the two first books is: *The Râja-Taraṅgiṇī, or History of Cashmir, consisting of four compilations viz: the Râja-Taraṅgiṇī, by Kālhaṇa Paṇḍita . D. 1148, The Râjâvalī, by Yonarāja (defective).* the titles of the two last continuations may here be omitted.

2. s. above II, p. 1011, Note 2, and G. Turnour's *Introduction to the Mahâwanço* p. II.

bears the title *Sinhavança*. In the just-mentioned work the history of the island is continued till the reign of king *Prakaranabáhn* the second in the year 1206, namely by *Dharmakírttí* from Demdedeniya, who was in his labor supported by that learned monarch ¹.

Therefore the representation of the Singhalese history in this work embraces the remaining part of the events which happened on the island of Ceylon during the period of time to be represented in the next place, and therefore it would be superfluous to have regard to the historical writings in which the history of the island has been carried down till later times; on the other hand it will be necessary to observe, that we possess neither a published edition nor a translation of *Sinhavança* and must preliminarily be satisfied with the insufficient and inaccurate extract from it prepared by E. Upham from the *Mahávança* ². The other translations of the same writer, such as the *Rájaratnákari*, i.e. jewel-mine of kings, and the *Rájávali*, i.e. series of kings are of equal value. The author of the first writing is *Abhayarája* of the Walgampáye monastery and it was composed at quite a late time, although it cannot be accurately fixed. The second book is a compilation collected by various persons at various

1. G. Turnour, op. cit.

2. The title is: *The Maháwansi, the Rájaratnákari and the Rájávali, forming the sacred and historical books of Ceylon; also a Collection of Tracts, illustrative of the Doctrine and the literature of Buddhism; translated from the Singhalese. 3 vols. London MDCCCXXXIII.* The worthlessness of these extracts and of these translations has been accurately shown by G. Turnour, Introduction, p. III. foll

times, who have at the same time furnished materials for the larger *Mahāvamśa* which consists of one hundred chapters, and contains such as have been drawn from the older work of the same name¹. Herefrom it is evident that for the period in question we have not as valuable materials at our service in the history of Ceylon as was the case with the earlier one only for the reign of *Vijayabāhu* who was the ruler of the island from 1071 till 1126 (and makes so important a figure in the later history of it, that it seems proper with him to terminate a period in the history of *Lankā*) we are in a position to make use of the original book and of a reliable translation of it, because the fifty-ninth chapter of the *Mahāvamśa* has been published².

Now the most suitable opportunity presents itself to me to show that the communications of *Arab* and *Persian* historians on the older history of India possess no value at all, and that they cannot like the *Chinese* ones supply the want of domestic sources. In the *Mugmel-attavirikh* or the *Sum of histories*, terminated in the year 1126, and containing a general history by an unknown author, there occurs a section superscribed *History of the Indian kings and their chronological series, according to the elucidations which have become known to us*³. With the

1. G. Turnour, *ibid* Introduction p. III. p. XC to XCII where the contents of the hundred chapters of the older *Mahāvamśa* are communicated.

2. G. Turnour, *ibid*. Introduction p. L XXXV foll.

3. S. on this work *Notice sur l'ouvrage Persan, qui a pour titre Mondymel-attawarikh*, "Sommaire des histoires" par M. Zuatrimère in the J. As. III^e série VII p. 246 foll. and Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédites relatifs à l'Inde* *ibid*. IV, série IV. p. 117 foll. and in the separate impression p. 25 foll.

exception of the beginning this work contains an extract from a book composed in 1026 the author whereof was *Abul-Hassan-Ali-ben-Muhammad*, librarian in the town of Jorgan in the vicinity of the Caspian sea. This Arabic work was the translation of a Sanskrit book, the author of which, *Abul-Sâleh*, the son of *Shoaib* had given it a title composed in the sacred language of the Indians, which means *Instruction of the Kings*. To judge from his name the author was a Musulman who had for a long time lived in India, and had there acquired the learned language. He had drawn his information from the *Mahâbhârata* and from the *Harivaṅṣa* which is added to that great Epic and chiefly contains the history of *Kṛishṇa*. He had further made use of the *Râja-Taraṅgiṇī* history of Kaçmîra. Other communications from him must be referred back to Arabic writings or to translations into that language. As far as the value of the *Mugmel-attavârikh* is concerned, the following remarks suffice to show the uselessness of it as a source for Indian history. The two tribes of *Zath* and *Meid* who inhabited the Indus-valley fell out with each other and carried on long wars with each other, thereby fatigued and exhausted, they concluded to submit to *Duryodhana* in *Hastinâpura*, who had surrendered this country to his sister that was married to *Jayadratha* in Sindh, the latter abandoned special regions to the tribes, as well as the Indus valley, where they settled. But as the *Zath* belong to the great *Iueïtchi*, they have immigrated much later ; *Jayadratha* is on the other hand the

prince of the *Sindhus* who figures in the great battle¹. Further, the contest of *Paraçu Rāma* with the *Bhriguīdes* is set down only several generations later than the time of the *Pāṇḍavas*, whereas Indian tradition inversely causes the battle by which the *Kṣatriya* races are extirpated, to take place earlier². Further, *Por*, the *Poros* celebrated by his resistance to Alexander the Great, and his son *Mahram*, are placed into the time of the ancient Eranian monarch *Feridūn* and of his antagonist *Zohāk*. Of Kifend and of his successors the following narrative is related³. He is said to have been of foreign descent, and to have conquered India after the time of Alexander the Great. His grandson *Rassel* was expelled by a leader from northern India and was obliged to flee to the south. He had two sons; the older, *Rawal* became his successor; *Barkamāris* the younger was preferred by a maiden celebrated for her intellect and courted by many Indian princes for a spouse. By reason of his royal power Rawal took this maiden away from his brother. Some time afterwards Barkamāris made use of a favourable opportunity and attacked his brother who was sitting alone with his spouse in his palace, killed him, took his wife again to himself and became a very mighty king. His wise Vezir *Safar* composed a writing which obtained the title *Ādalalmulk*, i.e. *Instruction of the Kings*. After the completion of

1. S. above I. p. 682 and II, p. 873 foll.

2. Reinaud *Mémoire etc. sur l'Inde*, p. 51 and above I p. 714 foll.

3. Reinaud *Fragments Arabes & Persans*, etc. in J. As. p. 1551 foll. and p. 44 foll. of the separate impression.

this book he burnt himself. The last part of this table certainly presents some affinity to the circumstances which occur in the composition of the fables of *Pilpai*; but a comparison with the two Indian Kings *Bhartrihari* and his brother *Vikramāditya* cannot be instituted, because according to the Indian tradition the former voluntarily abdicated the throne, after he had discovered the infidelity of his wife *Anangasend*; in favour of the comparison is only the circumstance that a change in the government took place, and the distant resemblance of the names *Parkamiris* and *Vikramāditya*, but the Arabic name of his brother is against it¹. That from this representation of Indian history no valuable results can be obtained is evident from a portion thereof having flown out of Indian sources, but not having been repeated in its original form; and the portion with which this is not the case, is quite incredible. Hereto it must also be added that the names in it plainly betoken their foreign origin.

The same is the case with a Hindostani compilation of the *Khilāssat-attavārīkh* or *Purification of the history* originally composed in Persian². Its author, *Sher-i-Āli-Afsos* lived in the middle of the seventeenth century. This history begins with that

1. This comparison *Reinaud* has instituted in his *Mémoire* etc. *sur l'Inde* p. 68. on *Bhartrihari's* history s. above II, p. 802.

2. *Reinaud's Fragments Arabes et Persans* etc p. IX. A. French translation of this history till *Prithvīrāja* who valiantly resisted the Muhammadans and was captured and killed in 1193, occurs in *J. As.* IV Série III. p. 104 foll. p. 229 foll. and p. 35 foll. under the following title: *Histoire des rois d'Hindustan d'après les Panduas, traduite de l'Hindustani de Cher-i Ali Afsos par Mr. L'Abbé Bertrand.*

of the *Pāṇḍavas* and their successors; they are followed by otherwise unknown dynasties; after them occur the narratives of *Vikramāditya* and *Bhoja* which are borrowed from the fables. After them several dynasties are enumerated, among whose members it is true some other names known from elsewhere occur, but with other successors. Another defect of this historical work is that the seat of the dominion of the princes adduced therein is but seldom mentioned. Its author follows the idea of Indian history in the *Purāṇas*, so that he continues it in the chief dynasties and passes over the secondary dynasties entirely in silence. From these remarks it is plain, that this history is of very little value and can be used as source only with great precaution. Nor can the chronological data communicated therein be admitted without examination, although the duration of the single reigns is determined not only according to years but according to months. The author of this history has for the earlier time made use of a work the title of which is *Rājāvalī*, i.e. series of kings; and a similar, but much more incomplete representation occurs in William Ward's *View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos III*, p. 121 foll. This extract is usually limited to the statement of the names of the kings and to the duration of their reigns.

Of the Muhammadan writers here to be noticed *Mas'ūdi* is to be mentioned first who had in the beginning of the 10th century visited the western regions of India and had laid down his remarks on them in a writing to which he gave the title of

Akbar al zemân, i.e. *Memorabilia of time*. Of this work we possess only an abridged compilation by himself, which he composed in the year 943 and the complete title of which is *Muruj-alzahab wa maâdan-aljauhar*, i.e. *Meadows of gold and mines of precious stones*¹. What this learned Arab tells us about the history of India is drawn from extremely apocryphous sources. The first king *Brahman* was succeeded by *Bahbîl* about whom he gives various reports which may here properly be left out. The name of his successor *Zâmân* is probably corrupted from *Râmân*, because *Râma* is a well known Indian name, by which in this case the king of *Ayodhyâ* famous in old Indian legends will have to be understood². He is said to have carried on wars with the kings of Persia and of the Chinese, and to have reigned about one hundred forty years. To his successor *Fâir* or *Poros* who fought against Alexander the Great, likewise a reign of one hundred and forty years is ascribed³. Under his two successors

1. Reynaud's *Mémoire etc. sur. l' Ind^e*, p. 20 and on the title: Gildemeister's: *Ueber den Titel des Masûdi's sehen Werkes Muruj-alzahab* Z. f. K. d. M. IV. p. 202 foll. and his *Scriptorum Arabum de rebus Indiæ loci et opuscula inedita*, p. 82 foll. and p. 134 foll.

2. The correct form *Râma* occurs in the English translations the title of which is: *El Masûdi's historical encyclopedia, called Meadows of gold and mines of gold, translated by Aloys Sprenger I, p. 171*.

3. In another passage of his book *Mas'ûdi* communicates a legend on the cup of *Kefind* (mentioned on p. 485) whom he calls *Kend*; s. Reynaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans etc.* p. 45. This cup belonged to the ancestor of mankind, who had, according to the belief of Musulmans, lived in the island of Ceylon. The cup had passed from hand to hand and had at last come into the possession of Kefind. It possessed the quality of never being empty, and an entire army could quench

the Indians brought forth two productions which procured them the greatest glory among the other oriental nations. *Dabshelim* who had been one hundred twenty, or according to other authors more or less years king of the Indians, is said to have composed the Indian fable-book which *Ibn Mukassa* translated from the Pehlvi into the Arabic language, and *Balbit* who died after a reign of sixty years, is said to have been the inventor of the game of 'chess'. In *Kurush* we meet with a genuine Indian name, because it can be no other than the *Kuru* of the Indians, the ancestor of the *Kauravas*. He introduced a new constitution which had become necessary in consequence of the altered circumstances. During his time lived *Sindibád* the author of the tales known among the orientals under the title; *The history of the seven Veziers or that of the seven wise men* and which are under the latter name in circulation also among the German people. The Indian origin of this book appears not only from the above report of *Mas'údi*, but also from *Sindbád* the name of the reputed author of the book, which is composed of *Sind* the region on the

its thirst therefrom. Kefend had presented Alexander with it, who placed great value on its possession. He filled this cup with clarified butter and sent it to an Indian philosopher to tempt him. The latter however sent it back with one thousand needles concealed in the butter. Alexander intended to make the Indian philosopher understand in this manner, that his heart was as much filled with love for wisdom as the cup with butter; by the needles hidden in the butter the philosopher meant to imply, that he had understood the meaning of the king in the same manner as the butter was penetrated by the needles. Although this wonderful cup has hitherto not yet been pointed out in Indian sources, it can scarcely be doubted that its origin is due to the fertile imagination of the Indians.

lower Indus thus called by the Arabs and Persians as well as by the Europeans, and of *bād* the corruption of the Sanskrit word *pāti*, lord. Accordingly it means the lord of Sind, has however probably not been invented by the Indians themselves, but by the Arabs settled among them on the Indus. According to their opinion Sindibād was a youthful teacher. From this also the name *Syntipas* given to him in the Greek translation of this collection of tales is to be derived ¹. As the species of tales to which the history of the seven wise men belongs, has originated in India only at a much later time, it follows of itself that *Mas'ūdi* has attributed to it much too high an age, no doubt according to the precedent of the Arabs settled in India.

After the death of *Kurush* who sat one hundred and twenty years on the throne, a dissension originated in India by the increase of the tribes, and every prince made himself independent in his province ; one in *Sind*, a second in *Kanoj*, a third in *Kaṣmīra* ; in the great capital *Mānekir* the king called Balharā began to reign who first assumed this name. Henceforth king became the name of all later successors who reigned there till the time of *Mas'ūdi*, namely till A. H. 332 or 943 after Chr.

If it be considered that this Arab who was learned and anxious to learn, had in India the most

1. The most complete informations concerning this book are contained in A. Loiseleur-Deslongchamps *Essai sur les fables Indiennes et leur introduction en Europe* p. 80 foll. and in *Analytical Account of the Sindibādnameh or book of Sindibad, a Persian manuscript poem in the Library of East-India-Company*, By Forbes Falconer M. A. &c. p. 1 foll.

favourable opportunity to procure through his co-religionists more reliable information concerning the older history of India than that which he communicates to us, we cannot conceal our astonishment at his ignorance on this subject. Among the names of the Indian kings adduced by him, only three are genuine Indian, namely *Brahman*, *Rāmān* according to the rectified lection, and *Kurush*. The first appears in the Indian translations not as terrestrial king, but as creator of the world and of men. *Fūr* or *Poros* belongs to originally Greek sources. *Bāhbād* is by the Arab author called *Ismael Shahinshāh* king *Las'b* or *Bāhabūr* and Mas'ūdi has probably also in the other Indian princes adduced by him used the writing of this Arab. With *Dabshelim* he had probably met in the introduction to *Kalila va Dimna* ¹. Of a partition of hitherto undivided India, after *Kuru*, Indian history knows nothing; also the statement that only four states originated on this occasion in that country, is very scanty, and Mas'ūdi has adduced only the Indian kingdoms most accurately known to him, among which the empire of the *Ballabhi-Kings* and that of the monarchs residing in *Kanoj* or *Kānyakubja* were the mightiest ². The name which the Muhammadan authors have given to the first kingdom, is a corruption from *Ballabhirāja* by the intermediation of the form *Balahirāa* as the name was changed in the vernacular ³ that

1. Gildermeister, *ibid.* p. 136 foll.

2. Reinaud's *Mémoire & sur l'Inde*, p. 46 and p. 219, *Mas'ūdi* visited the first kingdom between 915 and 916.

3. Gildermeister *ibid.* p. 43.

Mānekir is the Arabic corruption of the name *Minnagara* as the capital of the Indoskythian empire was called and that it had afterwards become the residence of the *Ballabhi* kings and was therefore called *Ballabhipura* I have shown already before¹. It is a surprising error of Mas'ûdi or of his authorities that king *Fûr* is made to reside in *Mānekîr*².

It may be remarked in conclusion that somewhat later than Mas'ûdi, *Al-Istakhri* and *Ibn-Haukal* speak of the power of the *Balharās* which was at that time confined³ although the princes originally called by this name did no more reign since a considerable time, and therefore their name has unjustly been applied to their successors by these Arab authors.

Of the celebrated Mogul historian *Fadhl-Allah Rashîd-eddin* who was born in 1247 and executed in 1318 we possess a history of India of the title, *Tarîkh-al-Hind va al Sind* or *History of India and of Sind* which was terminated in 1310.⁴ He made

1. S. above III p. 171. At the time of *Hiuen-Tsang*, *Ballabhi* which he calls *Vallabhi*, embraced a small region in the south of *Surâshtra* or *Sorat* on the continent, s. Stanislas Julien's *Hist. de la vie de Hiuen-Tsang* p. 206 and p. 309. This region is different from one situated more to the north, which he calls the northern *Loto* or more correctly *Lâta* for *Lâra* and designates by this name the eastern moiety of the peninsula of Guzerat. s. Vivien de St. Martin in *Nom. Annales des voyages* XXXVI, 4. p. 165.

2. Reinaud's *Mémoire & sur l'Inde* p. 66.

3. *ibid.* p. 241.

4. Letter to the secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society by J. Morley, Esq. and Professor Duncan Forbes on the discovery of part of the second volume of the "*Jâmi-al Tarîkh*" supposed to be lost, in the J. of the R. As. S., VL. p. 11 foll. Of the history of Rashid-eddin further H. M. Elliot has treated in his

chiefly use of the writing of *Abul-Rihan Muhammad* who bore the epithet *Albirûni* whose work is a translation from Sanskrit into Arabic ; the original is ascribed to the ancient Indian philosopher and grammarian *Patanjali* ¹. Rashîd-eddîn has besides other communications on India which do not further concern us, also written a history of the Brahmanic kings of India, and has arranged it according to the four *yugas* or ages of the world ². He has further treated of six prophets, who had after each other propagated several religions in India, as the adherents whereof several sects afterwards considered themselves. Their names are *Maheçvara* or *S'iva*, *Vishnu*, *Brahman*, *Arhan*, *Nâçak* and *Sâkya* *muni* or *Buddha* whose life Rashîd-eddîn has given in extenso. The fourth name is no doubt to be considered as the Sanskrit *Arhaṇa* by which name the *Jainas* are called. The fifth name may be most appropriately compared with the Sanskrit-word *Nâçaka* destroyer, injurer. Thereby probably one of the Indian sects is to be understood, although neither the *Jainas* call the founder of their doctrine by that name, nor the Brahmans know a heresiarch of the name of *Nâçaka*. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the series of Indian religions and sects as Rashîd-eddin adduces them is incorrect, because the Brahmanic sects have not

excellent work *Biographical Index to the historians of Muhammadan India*, I. p. 1 foll. which contains also two sections of the said book (p. 28 foll. and p. 34 foll.) in which the rivers of Sindh and the countries of India together with their towns and inhabitants are described.

1. Reinaud's *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 30.

2. Elsewhere p. 21.

arisen after each other, but have developed themselves simultaneously; also the origin of the *Jaina* sect is of a considerable later date than the appearance of Buddha. Lastly, there are but very few Indians, who worship Brahmā exclusively, so that this God has scarcely in India itself been represented as the founder of a prominent sect. Of what value Rashîd-eddin's oldest history of India is, and whether it is distinguished above the labors of the other Muhammadan authors in this field of research, can be ascertained only after an accurate examination of this not yet carefully examined work. A favourable prejudice is raised by the circumstance that Rashîd-eddin consulted the book of as accurate an authority on India as *Albirûni* was, who was moreover in this case not the independent author of a history of India, but only the translator of one, be it that it had been composed by *Patañjali* or not.

It only remains for me to examine, whether the history of India by *Muhammed Kâsim Hindes Shâh* with the epithet of *Ferishta*, who was born before 1550, completed his *Târîkh-i-Ferishta* in 1606, and must have died after 1623¹ contains

1. *Essay on the Life and writings of Ferishta*. By Lieut, Col. John Briggs M. R. As. S. in *Trans. of the R. As. S. II. p. 34* and Jules Mohl's announcement of the two English translations of this work in the *Journ. des Savants*, 1840, p. 215 and p. 220. The Original is lithographed in Bombay and bears the title *Târîkh-i-Ferishta, or History of the rise of the Mohammedan power in India, till the year A. D. 1612 by Mohamed Kasim Ferishta of Astrabad, edited and collected from various MSS. copied by Major-General John Briggs, assisted by Munshi Mir Kheirat Ali Khan Mustak of Astrabad, Bombay 1821* 2 vols. in Folio of the English transtation by Alex. Dow, there exist

materials for the history of India, more useful than the older, already discussed writings of this kind. This can be shown in few words ¹. Ferishtā draws his data on the oldest history of India for the Persian Translation of the *Mahābhārata* made during the reign of *Akbar*. According to it soon after the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* the whole of India is stated to have been united into a single empire the founder whereof was *Kṛishṇa*.

According to the great epochs the latter belongs to a much later period of the ancient history of India, and is not the founder of an empire; Ferishta errs also in the statement that his dynasty kept its court in *Ayodhyā*, which ancient capital was

four editions, the 1st is in two volumes 4^{to} London 1768; the 2nd in 3 volumes 4^{to} *ibid.* 1770 1772. The 3rd in 3 volumes 8^o *ibid.* 1793. The 4th according to which I quote this translation, bears the title: *the history of Hindostan, translated from the Persisan. To which are prefixed two dissertation; the 1st concerning the Hindus; the 2nd the origin and nature of despotism in India. By Alex. Dow. A new Edition.* 3 vols. London 1812-1813. The 2nd English translation is entitled: *History of the rise of the Mohamedan power in India, till the year A. D. 1612. Translated from the original Persian of Mohamed Kasim Ferishta.* By John Briggs. M. A. S. Lieut. Col. in the Madras army to which is added an account of the conquest, by the kings of Hyderabad of those parts of the Madras Provinces, denominated the ceded districts of the Northern Circars. With various Notes, 4 vols. 8^o London 1829. Mohl observes (*ibid.* p. 307 foll.) that although the first English translator has in many passages corrected the translation of his predecessor, his own translation nevertheless differs in several cases from the lithographed text, which he had sometimes before himself in an abridged form. These discrepancies have mostly arisen from the circumstance, that Briggs made use of manuscripts which differed from the edited text. But as Dow had also other manuscripts at his disposal than Briggs, it follows that the translation of the former must not be entirely disregarded.

1. *Ferishta* by Dow, I, p. 2 foll. and by Briggs, I., p. L. XIV foll.

according to Indian tradition the residence of the first of the ancient Indian royal dynasties, namely the *Sūryavanṣa* or solar race whereas *Kṛishṇa* is to belong to the *Candravanṣa* or lunar race. After the fall of the Family of *Kṛishṇa*, who lived 400 years, Ferishta represents as the successor thereof a descendant from a woman of the family of *Kṛishṇa*, or according to another lection the son of *Kṛishṇa* as *Mahrāja*, i. e. *Mahārāja* or supreme-king¹. To him the division of the Indian nation into 4 castes is attributed, and he is represented as the ruler of the Dekhan, of Ceylon, and even of Acin on Sumatra, of Malaka and of Pegu; the Governors of the three last countries together with the sub-ruler of the Malabar coast are said to have revolted for the first time². It need scarcely be mentioned that so extensive a dominion of an Indian monarch in such remote times is as incredible, as the wars of the *Mahārāja* with the ancient Eranian king *Feridūn*. Also the name of this king is not a name but only a title. *Mahārāja* is said to have reigned 700 years.

This example sufficiently shows that Ferishta's representation of the oldest Indian history is quite worthless. His statements with reference to event of later times are just as unreliable. According to the best manuscripts *Fūr* or Poros is designated as the founder of *Bidar* the former capital of *Vidarbha* or *Berar*, who having been informed of the approach

1. The first statement occurs in Dow, p. 2, the second in Briggs, p. LXIV, who alone gives the duration of the life of *Kṛishṇa*.

2. According to Briggs (last quoted work).

of Alexander the Great sent his son to meet him with elephants and other costly gifts, in order to prevent his attacking the Penjab ¹. After his death *Sunsarcand* or *Sirsarcand*, (which is a very corrupted form of the name of *Candra-gupta*) took possession of the whole of India ; but paid annual tribute to *Godruz* the king of Persia. He was expelled by *Juna* nephew of Fûr, who built many towns on the bank of the Gaigâ and of the Jamuna. He was a contemporary of *Ardeshir Pâbegân*, the founder of the New Persian empire who attacked India, but was by the gifts of *Juna* induced to withdraw. Thereon *Juna* returned to *Kânyakubja* or *Kanoj*. He reigned ninety years. In this statement the events of quite different times are huddled together. King *Godruz* can be only an Arsakide and no other than *Gotarzes*, who sat on the throne from 45 till 51 after Chr.². As *Juna* is a corruption of *Yona*, i.e. Greek, by this name *Diodotos* the first, the founder of the Greek Baktrian kingdom must be meant, who ascended the throne shortly before 250 bef. Chr.³ appears here as a contemporary of the first *Artaxerxes*, who founded the New-Persian empire 226 after Chr. This latter one is by Ferishta at the same time represented as

1. Briggs, p. LXXIV whose translation is in this instance to be preferred. The second form occurs in Dow, p. 9. On *Bider* s. above I. p. 177 Note 1. *Bider* must be considered as another form of the name *Berar*, which has originated from *Bidar*.

2. Adrien de Longpérier's *Mémoires de Numismatique Greque*, p. 28 and his *Mémoires sur la Chronologie et Iconographie des rois Parthes Arsacides*. p. 103.

3. S. above II. p. 284.

a contemporary of *Vikramāditya*¹ although the era dated after him is known to begin 57 bef. Chr. Ferishta's error of causing *Vikramāditya* to be conquered by *Sūlivāhana* occurs among the Indians themselves².

It is still more surprising that Ferishta is so little versed in the history of the kings who had their saet in *Kānyakubja* and whose history Ferishta had in his introduction resolved chiefly to discuss³. After the death of *Bhoja*, *Vāsudeva* took possession of the region the capital whereof is *Kānyakubja*, and fixed himself there. His contemporary was Sasanian *Bahramgur*, as the epithet of the *Varah-
rau* of this prince sounds. The latter visited the prince in his capital ; what the foreign monarch there transacted with him, may here be passed over in silence.

Vāsudeva died after a reign of 20 years⁴ ; after his death his 32 sons fought 2 years for the succession, until *Rāmadeva* of the *Rājaputra*-dynasty of the *Rāshṭra-Kūtas*, the commander-in-chief of of the army, usurped the throne. Afterwards he not only subjugated *Mālava* but marched with his victorious army through nothern India from *Kaṣ-
mīra* to the sea-shore on the Bay of Bengal and

1. By Briggs, p. LXXV. It is the 1663rd year of the era of *Vikramāditya*, the 1015th. year of the *Hejra* which answers to the 1606th of the Christian era, this gives 57 bef. Chr. Accordingly Dow, I. p. 12 erroneously places the death of *Vikramāditya* into 89 after Chr.

2. S. above the p. 881 foll.

3. In Briggs, I. p. LXXV foll.

4. According to Dow, I. p. 12 however 80 years.

subjected 500 kings to himself. He is represented as the contemporary of the Sasanian *Firûz*, who was not the son of *Kobad*, but of *Jerdegird* the third¹. The Indian monarch is said to have paid tribute to both the Iranian kings, the latter reigned fifty four years. After his death his commander-in-chief *Pratâpcandra* of the caste of the *Vaiçyas* utilized the discord of the sons of his master to usurp supreme power; how long he remained in the possession thereof is not mentioned. After his decease his governors, or according to another less acceptable lection², the dependent princes made themselves independent in the provinces administered by them. The family of the preceding ruler fled from Kânyakubja to Kumbulmir in the vicinity of Citor, and Mandsur, and has survived till our times under the name *Sesodia* as a dependent Government in Citor and possessing Udayapura³. At a somewhat later time *Malladeva* collected an army in the Doab of the Ganges and of the Jamuna, and conquered Delhi and Kânyakubja, which he raised to be the capital. He is designated as the general ruler of India and reigned forty-five

1. *Explanations of coins with Pehlvi-legends*. By Dr. A. D. Mordtmann, in Z. d. D. M. G. VIII. p. 70 foll. and the *Annals of Hamza of Isfahan X books*. Edited by J. M. E. Gottwaldt II. p. 40. On this occasion I remark that I shall everywhere restore the proper names disfigured in Ferishta's work, wherever it may be done.

2. In Dow, p. 14.

3. According to the note of Briggs, p. LXXX, this family is at present called *Sisodia*, and its head is called by the title of *Rânâ*, which does not designate a small prince as Ferishta intimates.

years ¹. From that period down to the time of the Muhammadans there existed no general ruler of India, but only kings of smaller dominions, whose enumeration would be superfluous in this place.

The only thing true in this statement concerning the history of India after the death of *Bhoja* is the information that the *Rāshtrakūṭas* had their seat in *Kānyakubja*; the founder of their power was however not called *Rāmadeva*, but *Yaçovigraha* as shall be shown afterwards. Nor do we know in the history of the region, the capital whereof that town was of any monarch called *Vāsudeva*, *Pratāpachandra* or *Malladeva*. The first king is no doubt the same who is portrayed on the coins found in Kabulistan, and which are of the times of the Sasanians ². Therefore he may have been a contemporary of *Bahranjur* or *Bahram* the 5th with the epithet *Varahran* who reigned from 400 till 520 ³. That to him and to his successors much too long reigns are ascribed follows from *Firuz's* having been sitting on the throne of his predecessors from 458 till 485. Also the epoch attributed by Ferishta to *Bhoja*, according to which he is said to have reigned before *Vāsudeva*, is worthless, because according to the inscriptions which refer to him, he reigned from 997 till 1053 ⁴.

Accordingly it has been abundantly shown, that the history of Ferishta begins to be of value to the

1. According to Dow, p. 15 only forty.

2. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* p. 399 follow.

3. Mordtmann p. 68, p. 73.

4. See preliminarily Z. f. d. K. d. M. VII. p. 345.

history of India only from the time immediately preceding the first invasions of the Muhammadans into this country. On the other hand for the history of the Muhammadans in India, the work of Ferishta may be considered as the most valuable one.

The only writing composed by a Muhammadan, containing really useful expositions of the defective native historical sources, with reference to Indian history before the Ghaznevites, is the *Āyīn Akbarī* or Institutes of Akbar, by *Abulfazl*. This work contains several reviews of the histories of some countries and lists of the kings of the majority thereof, with the duration of their reigns, which may however for the older times lay claim only to slight credibility. To the usefulness of this portion of the contents of this remarkable and estimable work the corruption of the Indian names is in many instances an obstacle; it is true the errors may frequently be amended by a proper knowledge of the language, and partly by Indian historical works and inscriptions, in some cases, but not in all. Nor are the numbers free from errors. For this reason as well as for others it would be very desirable to produce at least one new translation of the book of Abulfazl undertaken with the necessary linguistic and historical knowledge in case obstacles should hinder the edition of the original work.

On this occasion it may be remarked that in Joseph Tieffenthaler's *Histories-geographical description of Hindostan* likewise possess lists of Indian kings, with notices of the durations of their

reigns and separate short sketches of their acts. They partly agree with those communicated by Abulfazl, and may in this instance have been taken from his work but partly they deviate too much to have flown from this source, or they are also entirely wanting. These latter ones the learned Jesuite must have drawn from other sources ; the former may serve for the rectification of the members and names in the *Ā'īn Akbari*.

According to the statements and critiques of the written sources at our disposal for a period of 319 years after Christ till the first undertakings of the Muhammadans against the Indians, and after the fixation of the points of time when the history of the States for the first time appearing in the history of India begins to be more reliable, I reach the second kind of sources which supplements the first, namely the *inscriptions* and *coins*.

Without the aid of the *inscriptions* the history of the greater portion of the northern Dekhan from the middle of the 5th century till shortly before the conquests of the Musalmans would be as good as entirely unknown, for the history of the *Ballabhī*, the later *Gupta*, the *Pāla* and *Vaidya*-kings, which latter ones reigned in eastern Hindostan, the inscriptions furnish during the same period of time by far the most important historical means, since the Chinese and the Muhammadan writers present only a few contributions to the history of the first dynasty ; for that of the second only the Chinese records do that ; for that of the two last ones on the

other hand only the Musalman works. Lastly, the inscriptions complete the oldest history of *Telingana* and *Orissa*; they perfect and partly rectify the historical writings of the *Rājaputras*. These are the most important Indian States the history whereof is by the inscriptions either restored, or completed and explained. There is besides a number of unimportant States with which it is likewise the case; but as it cannot be my intention in this place to give to the reader complete information on this subject, but only to point out the significance of the inscriptions as auxiliary means for the investigation of the history of the period which is to occupy my attention in the next place, I reserve more exact statements on the inscriptions to be used on this occasion, for a later portion of this book.

The aid of the *coins* is in the present case confined to the westernmost regions of India. The oldest coins mainly originate from princes who reigned at the time of the Sasanians and on whose coins Iranian symbols and *Pahlavi*-legends occur together with proper names and words which show that the authors of the coins in question are Indians. Therefore they have been called *Indo-Sāsānian*, and the monarch who have caused these coins to be coined must have stood in a kind of dependency under the Neo-Persian kings.¹ The second kind of the numismatic monuments

1. They have been described in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 399 foll.

belonging hereto, originate from a much later time, namely from the period shortly before and during the dominion of the Ghaznevîdes; their authors were the Indian kings of *Kabulistân*, of the *Penjab* and of *Râjasthâna* ¹.

1. These coins have been described in : *On the coins of the Dynasty of the Hindu kings of Kabulistân*, By Edward Thomas, Esq. Bengal Civil Service, in the *J. of the R. As. S.* IX. p. 177 foll.

NAWAB MUNIR-UD-DOWLA

A Minister of Shah Alam

By S. H. ASKARI

The political history of Hindustan, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, was considerably influenced by a number of adventurers, both native and foreigners. The study of their respective careers is, indeed, highly instructive. Munir-ud-Dowla, Raza Quli, Khan Bahadur, Nadir Jung, a Persian emigrant, and the ancestors of the well known Bhicknapahari Nawabs of Patna, is a character in Indian history of the early years of Shah Alam's reign who has not attracted the attention of scholars which for his talents, diplomatic and administrative, and services and activities, he well deserves. One who wants to unravel the labyrinth of Anglo-Mughal politics and realise how, among other factors, Shah Alam's choice of his associates affected the fate of the king and the country, cannot but critically examine the political career of one who shaped, to some extent, the course of events, both immediately before and after the grant of the Diwanī, and professed to "be a loyal servant of the king, a well-wisher of the company, and a sincere friend of the Vazir, the Governor, and the other English Chiefs."

Munir-ud-Dowla's early career is largely shrouded in obscurity. We hear of his high lineage² and associations with the court of the Safavid kings of Persia before his advent into India during the reign of Mohammad Shah. The historians, Moulvi Waliullah³ and Ghulam Hussain, inform us that Raza Quli first entered the service of Intezam-ud-dowla, the Vazir of emperor Ahmad Shah, and was successively employed as superintendent of the carpet room and then of the audience hall. He is also spoken of as one of the faithful courtiers of emperor Alamgir who appears to have been the first to send him on an embassy⁴ to Ahmad Shah Abdali. A letter of Shah Alam to governor⁵, Verelst, dated May, 16, 1768, says, "Ever since his Majesty was the heir-apparent, Munir-ud-dowla attended him and had also served the former kings and was very loyal to His Majesty's

2. We have got the testimony of Aqa Bahbhani, (M.A.J.), supported by family tradition, that Raza Quli Khan, originally an inhabitant of Khorasan, was a descendant of the celebrated Sufi saint, Zinda pil Ahmad Jam (died 536/1142). His forefathers had been among the nobles of the Safavid sovereigns of Persia and he himself had served King Tahmasp II before the dynasty was supplanted by the Western Afgans and ultimately swept off by Nadir Shah. The latter, being informed of Raza Quli's sagacity and wisdom, forced him out of his retirement, and after some time, sent him, along with an embassy, to the court of Mohammad Shah in India. He never went back to his native land and was respected and favoured by the Timurids. The author of Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad refers to the coming of Raza Quli Khan in India during the reign of Mohammad Shah.

3. T. F. II. S. M. 658.

4. C. P. C. II. 251, 950.

5. C. P. C. II.

royal father. "Munir-ud-dowla's letter to Verelst⁶, dated April 1, 1768 mentions that for twelve years he had served the throne with unexceptionable integrity." "A letter⁷ of Shah Alam, dated March 29, 1768, speaks of "These twelve years past" during which "Munir-ud-dowla administred the affairs of the royal household agreeably to His Majesty's will and pleasure." A year later, in April, 1769,⁸ Munir-ud-dowla wrote to governor Verelst about the "13 years since he entered His Majesty's service." Thus there remains little doubt about the year 1756 forming the starting point of Munir-ud-dowla's active service under the Timurids.

We don't know how far the historian, Ghulam Hussain, is to be credited when he claims that it was his father, Hidayat Ali⁹ Khan who had introduced Munir-ud-dowla to the emperor. The following facts are, however, clearly known to us. When the emperor Alamgir's eldest son, Prince Ali Gohar, better known as Shah Alam, being impatient of the control, and afraid of the designs, of the powerful and unscrupulous Vazir, Ghazi-uddin Imadul-mulk, contrived, in May 1758, to escape from Delhi, he was joined, on the way, by Munir-ud-dowla¹⁰ and Hidayat Ali Khan. Flying into the territories of Najib-ud-dowla, the prince

6. C. P. C. II.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. S. M. 658.

10. *Ibid* 660.

moved, by way of Barailly¹¹ and Muradabad, into Oudh, whence he started for Allahabad whose ambitious but thoughtless Governor, Muhammad Quli Khan, a cousin and rival of Shuja-ud-dowla, had held out to him the alluring prospects of an easy and profitable conquest of Bihar and Bengal where the position of the usurper, Mir Jafar, appeared to be far from secure, and interested chiefs, like Balwant Singh of Benares, Sunder Singh¹² of Tikari and Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur were likely to assist him in the proposed expedition. Munir-ud-dowla and Hidayat Ali¹³ Khan, who had been left behind at Miranpur to collect an army and other necessities of war, rejoined the prince¹⁴ at Benares, while the latter was on his march towards Bihar. They were present¹⁵ in the camp of their master at Phulwari, 7 miles west from Patna, where Raja Ram Narain, the astute Deputy Governor of Bihar, having failed to get in

11. The author of *Ibrat Nama* says that it was at Miranpur to which the Prince had been invited by Najibud-dowla, and where he passed his rainy season, that Raza Quli Khan Bahadur paid his obeisance to the Prince having been preceded only slightly before by Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, the father of the Patna Historian. The latter met the Prince at Miranpur in August, 1758, (S A. N. I. printed text 63).

12. Balwant did nothing beyond advancing a paltry sum to the prince, and Pahalwan arrived too late, and was also not trusted Sunder Singh, the only man of ability and sworn hostility to Mir Jafar and to Ram Narain, who might have given a turn to the events, was unfortunately assassinated by an ungrateful Muslim lad before the appearance of the Prince in Bihar.

13. The historian, Khairuddin mentions Munirud-dowla and not Hidayat Ali Khan I. N. 39.

14. S. M. 660.

15. *Ibid.* 661-663.

time the expected reinforcement from Bengal, presented himself in the improvised Durbar of the Prince, in march 1759. The Patna historian, who was as eye witness of the whole thing and was thoroughly alive to the exigencies of the situation, tried to persuade his father and Munir-ud-dowla to give better and saner advice to their princely master about keeping the Raja in honourable custody and in regard to the plans for seizing the fort of Patna¹⁶. But these elderly and experienced personages could do nothing because they were completely eclipsed¹⁷ by the brave and youthful, but inexperienced and self-willed governor of Allahabad, who was the moving spirit of the expedition, but was doing exactly what he ought to have avoided.

Shah Alam's Bihar expedition failed due more to the weakness¹⁸ of his own character and position than to the strength of those who had been moulding the destinies of Bengal and Bihar. The presence of Munir-ud-dowla, who was not endowed with military qualities, was of no avail to the Prince. His real worth was, however, soon recognized when his services were requisitioned, as at

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. Levity of the Prince, mutual dissensions and lack of unanimity among his supporters and the absence of a leader with a military genius and real organising capacity, as also the secret wirepullings and treasonable collusion with the enemies for which at least one Nawbat Khan, was subsequently punished with death, (S.A.N. 80) really account for the defeat which is, however, generally ascribed to the timely arrival of the Bengal army and the inopportune desertion of Md. Quli Khan, because of the hostile move of his cousin, Shuja-ud-dowla.

least on two previous¹⁹ occasions, for conducting an imperial embassy, conveying letters of Shah Alam, to Ahmad Shah Abdali, soliciting the Afghan chief's help against the rapacious raids of the Marhattas and for consolidating Shah Alam's position, after his father's death. According to the Patna historian, it was after the news of Alamgir's murder (7th Rabi II, 29 Nov. 1759) had reached the prince that the latter, on the advice of Hedayat Ali Khan, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at Ghatowli, sent robes of respective offices of Vazir and premier noble to Shuja and Najib, and despatched Munir-ud-dowla to the Abdali to seek his assistance and support and acknowledgment of his title.

Munir-ud-dowla was not yet very far when Shah Alam proceeded to try his sword again with the wily Raja of Patna and his English supporters. It was he who presented Zainul Abedeen Khan, the Naib Wazir, on 25th Rabi, i.e. 12 January 1760. He does not appear to have been present on the occasion of the coronation for he does not figure in the list of recipients of honours and titles, and,

19. We are told by Munir-ud-dowla that "he had formerly conducted an embassy to the Shah on the part of Alamgir and the present Majesty" (C.P.C. II 257). Delhi chronicle (Sarkar's Ms.) speaks of one Agha Raza Ali (who was perhaps no other than Agha-Raza-Quli) who had gone from Delhi as ambassador to Ahamad Shah Abdali, and being offered very hard terms had to come back by 14 January, 1757. The news of 28 February, 1757 again tells us about Agha Raza who had become ambassador to the Shah's camp (*Ibid*). Ghulam Hussain, Samin, also writes about the same personage as an envoy to this Court of Abdali (See Irvine's translation in *Indian Antiquary*, 1907).

moreover, wrote²⁰ letters of congratulation, along with that of Shuja-ud-dowla, on that auspicious occasion. We find him also sending an embroidered Palki which was graciously accepted²¹ by the emperor. He is also mentioned as sending information that Raja Ram Narain²² was collecting a large force to wage war with the Emperor, whereupon Aqidat-ud-dowla (Kamgar Khan) was appointed to proceed against him. The date, 13th Jamadi, i.e. January 21, 1760, given for the receipt of this information, is probably, incorrect, or the information may have been supplied second hand, and from a place other than Patna, for Munir-ud-dowla must have left the Imperial camp and set out towards the west for the Abdali after the interview with the Emperor in January,²³ 1760. He is said to have resided in the west during the whole period of the Abdali's campaigns against the Maharattas and must have therefore seen the momentous events happening in the north-west.

No less important changes were, at the same time, taking place in the Eastern Subahs of Bihar and Bengal. The Emperor's forces being now considerably strengthened, at first defeated the overconfident Raja of Patna at the battle of Masumpur, near Dehwa nala, on the 9th Feb. 1760, but unwise delay in following up the victory saved

20. S.A.N.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. S.M. 656—669 S.A.N. 73—84. See also I.N. and T.S.A.

Patna, allowed Miran's army to come up, and beat back the Imperialists, at the battle of Sherpur, on 22nd February. The bold plan of the flank march to Bengal to capture its defenceless capital, Murshidābad, miscarried. Even the efforts of the French adherents, led by the veteran, Law, produced no better results and the third siege of Patna proved a failure like the first two. By this time a fresh revolution in Bengal had brought on its *Musnad* a new nominee of the English in the person Mir Qasim. Much against the wishes of the new Nawab, the triumphant diplomatist-merchants of England saw the necessity of conciliating one whose title was still held²⁴ in awe throughout Hindustan and was publicly acknowledged²⁵ by the great Afghan king who was reported to be forming plans for the restoration of the empire. While the emperor was still at Patna, where in the English factory, he was made to hold a Darbar and confirm Mr. Qasim as Subadar, vesting the fiscal²⁶ administration in him, in return for a yearly sum of Rs. 24 lakhs, he waited impatiently for the arrival of Munir-ud-dowla who had been sent as his envoy to the Abdali monarch. The envoy had not failed to do his duty for not only in his presence had the²⁷ Afghan Majesty exhorted the Rohilla chiefs, Shuja, and other *omarahs* to acknowledge the title of Shah Alam but he had also obtained from the victor of

24. Keene's F.M.E.; S.A.N. 47

25. C.P.C. I, 981; 1042; S.M.

26. Keene's F. M. E.

27. S.M. 706.

Panipat, before the latter's departure for his native country, written injunction to all the Indian princes and to the English to obey their legitimate emperor. Governor Vansittart,²⁸ in a letter to the Abdali, dated March 1, 1761, refers to the latter's "orders to Mir Qasim and Col. Sabit Jung (Clive) to be obedient to the will of Shah Alam", and assures him that he was his Majesty's faithful subject, was obedient to the will of Shah Alam who had been brought into the fortress of Patna", and further that "he was ready to accompany him to Delhi." Such assurances were repeated in another letter, sent on March 26, 1761²⁹ wherein the governor wrote further that "If it should be the Shahansah's pleasure, he (Shah Alam) will be escorted by troops to Delhi."

But despite their promises and the exhortation of Shah Wali Khan, the prime Minister of the Afghan King, to the English Governor,³⁰ either to accompany the king to Delhi himself, or to send an experienced general there Shah Alam found that the English could not be persuaded to support his cause further than what they had already done. Being impatient to recover his capital and throne, and having received invitations³¹ of his mother, Zinat Mahal, Najib and Shuja, Shah Alam quitted Patna and was seen off——Bihar up-to Karamnasa, which formed the boundary between

28. C. P. C. I, 1042.

29. *Ibid.*

30. C. P. C. Letter dated 23 May 1761.

31. I. N., S. M.; S. A. N. 48.

Bihar and Oudh. Before he had crossed the river, and during the course of his journey, he came across the tents of the " Cream of ³² the grandess, the faithful and wellwishing", Munir-ud-dowla, who had returned from the west. The emperor was received at Sarai Syed Razi, near modern Mughal Sarai, by Shuja³³, who had been instructed by the Abdali king to render all possible assistance to his lawful monarch for removing the confusion of his affairs and improving the condition of the empire. But Shuja, as Keene observes, carried out the letters³⁴ of those instructions by retaining him, for some two years, in honourable confinement surrounded by the empty signs of sovereignty, sometimes at Benares, sometimes at Allahabad, and sometimes at Lucknow".

Munir-ud-dowla, who "had returned ³⁵ from the Abdali, having become fairly successful in his mission, rose high in favour of his royal master. To him was given the privilege of presenting before the emperor such great officers of the Nawab Vazir as Mir Naim Khan³⁶ and Raja Daya Ram. It was at his suggestion that Rai Dayanat who had been raised to the rank of a³⁷ Raja and "had begun to act with full power and authority over all the affairs of the royal household and had, consequently, excited the Jealousy of Munir-ud-dowla, was

32. S. A. N... 77.

33. S. M. 706, F. M. E. II (Sarkar).

34. F. M. E. 70 (Keene).

35. S. A. N. 47.

36. S. A. N. 82.

37. *Ibid.* 89.

deprived of his title, imprisoned, and finally ordered to be trampled down under the feet of an elephant, on the charge of embezzlement. He had gained such confidence of Shah Alam that when the latter held consultation on confidential³⁸ matters, relating, probably, to Malwa, no one was allowed to remain in the royal presence except him, the Vazir, and a Raja concerned in the affair. He was once more called upon to lead an embassy to the Abdali king, who was reported to have appeared again in India.

It was from Shewraipur³⁹, in the environs of Cownpore, where the emperor had halted during the rainy season, that Munir-ud-dowla was sent with suitable presents to the Abdali king to request him to "continue and strengthen the ties of friendly relation so that prosperity might be restored and the great confusion that raged in the country might be ended". We find him, about September, 1762, accompanying Yakub Ali Khan, the Afghan plenipotentiary and reaching Panipat but returning to Sonipat on hearing of the assembling of the Sikh⁴⁰ troops. The news of the 17th Dec. 1762⁴¹ tells us of the return march of the Abdali on the 12th after settling the tribute of Hindustan at 40 lakhs of rupees with Najib and Munir-ud-dowla". Munir-ud-dowla returned to the Imperial camp, when it had been moved towards Sikandra, was invested with robes of honour, and created⁴² Khan-i-Saman

38. *Ibid.* 102.

39. S. A. N. 139.

40. D. C.

41. *Ibid.*

42. S. A. N. 156; S. M. 924

(controller of the royal household) and Madar-ul Maham (Administrators of Affairs).

Nothing much of importance is available about the activities of Munir-ud-Dowla , since his return from his last embassy to the Abdali till we come to December , 1763 , when we find Mir Quasim , the vanquished and expelled Nabab of Bengal , seeking his mediation to engage the king and his Vazir and enlist the support of the Rohilla⁴³ Mir Quasim “ was invited to the court by artful⁴⁴ encouragement ” , “ in consequence of the English Major’s representations and those of Nawab Mir Jafar ” so as to prevent him from going to the Jats and the Rohillas who were not disinclined to assist him. The part played by Munir-ud-Dowla , both before and after Buxar , though only incidentally mentioned in available Persian records , is , nevertheless , important in that he thereby showed himself in his true colours. Indeed , “ the good offices ” of this “ well-wisher⁴⁵ of the English ” whom we find in great favour and confidence of the king and who was also present⁴⁶ in the Benares camp of Raja Beni, a secret enemy of Mir Quasim , as also the wirepullings of Munir’s old friend⁴⁷, Raja Shitab Rai , the real author of the Diwani episode , might have involved the ex-Nawab of Bengal into im-

43. C. P. C. 1. P. 257.

44. *Ibid.* P. 262, 274.

45. *Ibid.* P. 258. ,

46. *Ibid.* P. 263.

47. We find M’Doula presenting Raja Shitab Rai before the emperor as far back as February 1759, while the latter was on his way to Phulwari (Patna) S. A. N 72.

mediate troubles had not the ambitious Nawab Vazir of Oudh been over-powered by his cupidity and lust for territorial conquests. It was against the wishes of the emperor, influenced as he must have been by those who had his confidence, and through whom the "petition⁴⁸ of allegiance of the Ferenghi (English) gentlemen" was constantly pouring into the court, that Shuja embarked on his plan of capturing Bihar and measuring his swords with the English victors of the fugitive ex-Nawab of Bengal.

The utter inaction of the emperor both at the battle of Pachapahari (Patna) and Baxar can be easily understood and accounted for. In between the two events brisk negotiation was going on and we find Mir Jafar writing to Munir-ud-Dowla⁴⁹, on 10th June, 1764, expressing satisfaction at the friendly disposition of the court" and requesting the emperor, on the same date, to send Munir-ud-dowla to him. The historian, Ghulam Hussain, a common friend of of Dr. Fullerton and Munir-ud-dowla, advised the emperor, through his father, to leave his Vazir in the lurch. Ghulam Husian and Munir-ud-Dowla⁵⁰ drew up a Shuqqa on behalf of the emperor and the former conveyed it secretly to the English camp, taking due care that even Shitab Rai and his agent, Sadhu Ram, should know nothing of it lest the "Emperor and Munir-ud-dowla should be landed in "difficulties⁵¹". The plan, however, miscarried

48. S. A. N. 161.

49. C. P. C. pp. 318, 319.

50. S. M. 751.

51. The emperor suspected Shitab Rai because of his attachment to Beni Bahadur and to Shuja ud-dowla S. M. 757.

owing to an inopportune difference between Dr. Fullerton and Major Carnac, the English General. Major Munro proved a better General and a diplomatist. His secret moves, no less than his brilliant generalship, gave the decisive victory to the English against the proud and imprudent Vazir in October, 1764. Ghulam⁵² Ali tells us how, before the battle of Buxar, the English chiefs had "secretly conveyed their assurances of allegiance and loyalty and made offers of Peshkash through some well-wishing courtier of the emperor". No wonder that when, after his defeat, the vazir fled across the Ganges, leaving Raja Beni to persuade Shah Alam to join him, there was no response. On the other hand, the emperor began to send Khilats⁵³ to Major Munro and other chiefs who had obtained the victory and also Khilats and swords to the Nawab (Mirjafar) and to Vansittart and Major Carnac through his devoted minister, Munir-ud-dowla. It was Munir-ud-dowla who sent Suchit Ram⁵⁴ from Benares with a letter and presents for his Majesty to the Major, and when the latter arrived there, he was presented by Munir-ud-dowla⁵⁵ himself before the emperor.

The events of 1765 show that Munir-ud-dowla was acting in close association with his friend, Raja Shitab Rai, in pushing forward the interest of the English and regulating the relations with the country powers. Early in January, 1765, Mirza Najaf who

52. S. A. N. 185.

53. C. P. C. pp. 351, 352.

54. *Ibid* p. 358.

55. K. T. 402; S. M.

had reasons to be dissatisfied with his cousin, the vanquished Nawab Vazir of Oudh, and was already in secret correspondence ⁵⁶ with the English chiefs, actually joined the emperor with a small force from Bundelkhund. This helped to strengthen the English in cavalry,⁵⁷ the want of which they had hitherto found a serious drawback. On the arrival of a European contingent from Patna the English general determined to bring Shuja to action. The latter having suffered another defeat had enlisted the support of Malhar Holker and his old rival, Imad. When the triumvirate attempted to capture Korah, Mirza Najaf, its newly appointed Faujdar, put up a fight but being overwhelmed, thought it advisable to court the favour of the victors. His apparent defection made the English general suspicious of all the Indians and he was half-inclined⁵⁸ to treat with the enemy. If the historian, Khairuddin, is to be believed, Munir-ud-dowla⁵⁹ and Shitab Rai, urged the English general to arrange the troops and engage the enemy but the general delayed action. Mirza Najaf, however, duped Shuja and rejoined the Imperialists, and Shuja, being defeated for the third time, fell back in Farrukhabad. Munir-ud-dowla⁵⁹ was present in the battle which was fought in May, 1765.

Munir-ud-dowla and Shitab Rai were quite at one in denouncing⁶⁰ the ill-advised step of their

56. C. P. C. I pp. 343, 385, 386, 388, 410.

57. Broome 512.

58. I. N. 124.

59. *Ibid.*

59. S. A. N. 211, S. M.

60. I. N. 124 b.

royal master who had sent Saifuddin Md. Khan, with a special Shuqqa and a Khilat of the office of Bukhshi to Malhar. This caused a good deal of correspondence,⁶¹ afterwards, between the Vazir and the Governor. The two friends and collaborators ultimately brought about reconciliation between the English and their vanquished foe, the Vazir. Ghulam⁶² Ali tells us that Munir-ud-dowla sent Raja Daya Ram conveying reassuring messages on behalf of the English which Shuja, having already been advised by Ahmad Khan Bangash, was so very anxious for. Shuja's letter from Bilgram to General Carnac, dated 16. 5. 65, and the latter's reply thereto, sent 3 days later, give unmistakable proofs of the efforts put in by both Munir⁶³ and Shitab Rai in bringing about accommodation between the two parties. Both are referred to for particulars. The meeting took place at Manikpur⁶⁴ where matters having been amicably arranged, Munir-ud-dawla appears to have returned with the emperor to Allahabad.

That Munir-ud-dowla had a hand in obtaining from Shah Alam the grant of the Diwani⁶⁵ for the E. I. co., and also "lent Shuja every⁶⁶ assistance in

61. C. P. C. I, pp. 437, 450-51.

62. S. A. N. 214.

63. Broome 521.

64. S. A. N. 214.

65. Like Shitab Rai, Munir-ud-dowlo was also rewarded with jagirs of more than a lac in Parganah Biswak, etc. of Behar, "in perpetuity", "generation after generation" as is evident from references in C. P. C. and also from a valuable Farmān, dated 7th year of the julus, i.e. 1766, still in possession of one of his descendants, Wasi Hasan, *alias* Kallu Nawab of Patna city. C. P. C. IV 1027.

66. C. P. C. I 462; M. A. N.

the matter of the latter's reappointment to the Vizarat, are undeniable. It was he who "originated⁶⁷ the plan" of restoring Oudh to Shuja and setting apart Kora and Allahabad as Royal demesne, though the emperor had intended that the territories of Shuja and the office of the Vizarat should both belong to the Shahzada. He attended the famous conference at Cherand Chapra, July 1766, and "acted in conjunction with Lord Clive" and on Shuja's arrival in the presence from Chapra His Majesty conferred upon him the Khilat of the Vizarat and Lord Clive had to accept the King's condition ⁶⁸ that Shuja should appoint Munir-ud-dowla his Naib in the Vizarat and other offices. Khairuddin also refers to the tremendous influence wielded by Munir in the court of the king and his ⁶⁹ anxiety to lay Shuja under his obligation. Had their joint labours been sincerely directed towards the regulation of their king's affairs much good might have come out of this arrangement. But the harmony that reigned between his Majesty and his highness (Shuja) and Shuja and Munir proved more apparent than real. It was the interest of the English, and the policy and personality of Clive which were really responsible for shaping the course of events and the relation between the king and the company and those between the Vazir and the Comptroller General of the Household began to wear a different colour, especially after Clive's departure from India.

67. *Ibid.* II 286.

68. C. P. C. II p. 270.

69. I. N. 139 b.

It is necessary to refer to a comparatively little known but very significant episode in the history of Anglo-Moghul relation which occurred even before Clive's departure for England, for it enables us to revise our opinion about the "noble" Lord and realise how Munir-ud-dowla and others served their royal master. The promises of Major Munro⁷⁰ and General Carnac that they "would attend the royal stirup to Shah Jahanabad (Delhi)" "after the rains" had remained unfulfilled and assurances of Lord Clive, conveyed through Munir-ud-dowla,⁷¹ in 1765, that he would do so next year appear to have been of little value. Shaikh Etasamuddin⁷² of Nadia writes that when Clive asked leave of the Badshah at Allahabad, the latter with tears in his eyes told him that they had done the work of the company as they desired but had not cared at all to serve his cause in the matter of despatching an English force with him to Delhi and restoring the affairs of the empire and were leaving him in the midst of enemies and ungrateful people. Clive and General Carnac were apparently moved to hear this, but the former submitted that nothing could be done until the sanction of the king and the

70. C. P. C. p. 424 I (71) S. A. N. See Sir J. N. Sirkar's pertinent observations regarding the promises repeated by the English year after year since 1761 and especially in 1769 to escort the king to Delhi after the rains, through their devoted instrument, Munir-ud-dowla, and Shah Alam's ultimate realisation that "these rains would never end" F. M. E II.

72. The earliest known and the best copy available of Shagarf Namai Walayat (Kujhwa Ms.) has been consulted for this interesting account.

company had been received from England. Afterwards, in agreement with Nawab Munir-ud-dowla and Raja Shitab Rai, and with the consent of the king, it was agreed that a letter should be despatched on behalf of the Badshah, along with the gift of some choicest things and one lac of rupee, to the king of England. Accordingly, Munir-ud-dowla and Shitab Rai accompanied Lord Clive to Calcutta and they, with the Concurrence of Carnac, Captain Swinton, and George Vanstart, went to the garden of Damdama and without any knowledge of the other councilors drew up a letter in the name of Shah Alam whose seal was affixed to it. The letter was entrusted to Captain Swinton who was to be accompanied by Etesamuddin for whose expenses a sum of rupees four thousands was paid from the royal treasury by Munir-ud-dowla. When the two had passed a week on the deck, Captain Swinton informed Etesamuddin that since the presents from Benares had not arrived, Lord Clive considered it inadvisable to send the letter, but he promised to come next year when the letter, along with the gifts, would be delivered to the Captain to be presented by him. Etesamuddin writes, "had I known this from before I would not have ventured upon the task". He had "no alternative but to seal his lips and to wait for one and a half year." When Lord Clive did arrive at last he laid the royal gifts before the sovereign of England on his own behalf and obtained royal favours but made no mention of

the letter and the message of the Padshah of India. What to speak of Etesamuddin even Captain Swinton felt disgusted at this double-dealing of Clive.

One might make some allowance for the ignorance of Munir-ud-dowla of the crafty conduct of the founder of the British Empire. It may be that he was sincerely attached to the interest of his royal master but was convinced that the "affairs of the Sultanat would be settled in a proper manner only by the support of the English." In a letter to Clive⁷³ he hoped "that his lordship would conquer all Hindustan in his Majesty's auspicious service and that all the chiefs and nobles of the empire would put the collar of obedience on their necks and submit themselves to his command". Governor, Verelst, was not unjustified when he described Munir-ud-dowla as "one of the best⁷⁴ and ablest minister" "and the key to the cabinet of the emperor." But though highly intelligent and shrewd he failed to realise the reality of the situation or penetrate into the motives and the policy of the English. Though not willing to betray the cause of his royal master, his personal interest and ambition led him to advocate every policy favoured by the English, no matter whether it was conducive to the benefits of the empire or not. He would not, as he often assured the Governor, let the king⁷⁵ do

73. C. P. C. I 2681.

74. *Ibid.* II; 668.

75 C. P. C.

anything contrary to the company's interests. The council of the governor was ultimately preferred to the command of the Shah who described him more than once as "dearer than a brother"⁷⁶ and only son". Of course one has to take into consideration his difficulties also. These arose mainly from the divergent views of a spineless master, bent upon regaining the lost throne of his ancestors, and ever ready to lend a willing ear to "men of mean capacity, and vile inclinations," and of clever and strong patrons, never naturally inclined to favour the idea of restoring the fallen splendours of the Moghul Empire.

Munir-ud-dowla's domination during the royal sojourn at Allahabad (1765-1771) was challenged early and very often by men like Husamuddin Khan who humoured the caprices of the weak minded emperor and even pandered to the lowest pursuits⁷⁷ of the latter. Seeing that Husam's power of pleasantry and insinuation had already begun to work against his interests, Munirud-dowla asked leave of the emperor to go to Calcutta, ostensibly to secure the smooth payment of the Bengal tribute but really to strengthen⁷⁸ the tie of his friendship with the English so as to counteract the designs of his enemies. Husam took advantage of his absence to win over Akbar Ali⁷⁹ Khan, the friend and deputy of Munir-ud-

76. *Ibid.* II 1145.

77. S. M. 927.

78. I. N. 138.

79. *Ibid.* ; S. A. N : T. S. A.

dowla at that court, and the two induced Shah Alam to shake off the thraldom of the English, order the enlistment of troops and proceed to Delhi before the minister's return from Calcutta. Munir, being alarmed at the defection of his deputy and the march of the emperor to Korah at the head⁸⁰ of 30 to 40 thousand troops, immediately sent his letters, along with those of the English, emphasising the advantages of staying at Allahabad and the evils of undertaking any journey to Delhi at that time, and then left Calcutta and making rapid marches soon arrived near the emperor. This led to the utter discomfiture of his rivals. Akbar Ali resigned his post and Husam had to apologize and was wisely let off. The emperor was prevailed upon to return to Allahabad on Munir undertaking to pay about 12 lacks of rupees which had been spent in enlisting the fresh troops. According to Ghulam Ali ⁸¹ the English solemnly promised to escort the emperor to Delhi after 2 years.

Very soon the movements of hostile armies round about Delhi, where the Imperial family still resided, caused the emperor so deep a concern that he thought of sending a trustworthy person to look after their safety. The choice fell on Musavi Khan ⁸² because, as Khairuddin informs us, Munir was growing afraid of his natural talents and desired his removal from the Presence. He was despatched

80. *Ibid.*

81. S. A. N. 252.

82. I. N. The authors of S. A. N., T. S. A., M. A. N., are wrong in dating this event. See D. C.; and C. P. C. II 835-36.

at the head of 1000 Mughul cavarly whose expences, together with the monthly allowance of the princes and people of the Harem, were to be met from the Bengal tribute. The proud and the unyielding Mirza Najaf Khan met with a similar fate. He was sent way to hold charge of the Chakla of Korah and Allahabad for an opportunity might arise to examine his accounts and render him more subservient to the wishes of the minister. The latter was, however, powerless before the local English chiefs who prevented the emperor, on his return to Allahabad, from taking his residence within the fort and compelling him to occupy the garden of Raja Navab Ray. We also read about the demolition⁸³ of the old buildings opposite to the fort and including the ramparts, the emperor succeeding, however, in preventing the English from doing any harm to the congregational mosque.

The Minister had again to proceed to Calcutta to regulate certain affairs in accordance with the desire of the emperor, and this time he left Mumtazud-dowla⁸⁵ as his deputy at the court. His rivals found the situation favourable and Husam again contrived to displace some of his dependants⁸⁶ in favour of his own nominees. Raja Lal Udwant

83. Here also we find a discrepancy in the statement of contemporary historian. We have preferred Khairuddin's version *Vide* the hint in Munir's letters C. P. C. I 2794.

84. I.N. Read the emperor's anxiety about the evacuation of the fort by the English. "C. P. C. II 1626.

85. S. A. N. 252.

86. I. N. 1386.

Singh,⁸⁷ a powerful zamindar of Mandowa (?) was attached to Munir-ud-dowla and, consequently, a futile attempt was made to overthrow him in favour of one, Bikraman. Husam sent his own brother, along with Constin (?) the Armenian, at the head of one thousand cavalry and two thousand foot soldiers to help Bikraman. Failing in his offers of allegiance and loyalty and readiness to enhance the amount of Peshkush and tribute, the Raja put up a fight and drove off the imperialist with the help of his brother, Hodel Singh. The selfish intriguers were prevented from doing any further mischiefs by the timely arrival of Munir, early in 1182, that is, Jan. 1768. Many had to resign their newly-acquired ranks and some felt⁸⁸ so apprehensive as to proceed to Benares to welcome the Minister.

On his return to Allahabad, Munir took some measures against those who has been conspiring against him. Even Mirza Najaf, "the Nazim of the Chakla of Korah" was suspected, recalled and ultimately replaced by Khaja Md.⁸⁹ Sayeed, a friend of Munir-ud-dowla. The Mirza had disposed of his horses, elephants, and other belongings to meet the importunate demands of his disbanded troops. The new incumbent also could not long enjoy his office. In trying to settle revenue matters with Thakur Ganga Singh,⁹⁰ the refractory zamindar of Chachandi,

87. *Ibid*: Two letters in Tilismat-i-Kheyal by Kewal Ram furnish corroborative evidence of the incident. The Raja is named Lal Udit Singh. The place mentioned is Banda. Husam's brother, Wajihuddin, is called by his *alias*, Mirza Hinga.

88. I. N. 140.

89. *Ibid*.

90. *Ibid*. 147.

he was treacherously murdered on the occasion of an interview. Munir-ud-dowla felt the death of his nominee greatly but could do nothing at the time except to appoint Badal Beg Khan to the Chakla of Korah.

After a stay of about six months, Munirud-dowla had to leave for Patna, apparently to "attend the nuptials of his son", but really, as he is himself admitted, "for the sake of obtaining a meeting of the governor". Besides "the machination of diverse visionary schemers" and "deceitful thoughtless men" he had to face the hostility of Shuja ⁹² who was constantly complaining against him to Governor, Verelst, and trying to replace him by his son in the Naibship so as to control the court at Allahabad. The emperor's ⁹³ distrust and dislike for the Vazir and his refusal either to permit Munir-ud-dowla to visit the Vazir or invite the latter to the court to bring about accommodation in accordance with the repeated advice of the Governor, put Munir-ud-dowla between the horns of a dilemma. The governor's visit to Allahabad, suggested by Munir-ud-dowla to settle the question ⁹⁴ of Vizarat, would not take effect. Munir-ud-dowla felt disinclined, ⁹⁵ under the circumstance, to return to the "enlightended Presence" and repeatedly asked the Governor's permission to repair to Calcutta, while the emperor

91. C. P. C. II 1038, 1074.

92. See the numerous correspondence on the rivalry between Shuja and Munir C. P. C. II.

93. *Ibid.*

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*

wrote letters after letters for the return of the Minister whose absence had caused a good deal of disorder in the affairs of the royal household. "Owing largely to the delay in the receipt of monthly instalments of the Bengal tribute (for which ⁹⁶ the Governor had once to apologize)" Verelst was inclined to favour the Vazir and once wrote to the emperor that Munir-ud-dowla from his age and infirmities ⁹⁷ was incapable of performing the duties of his situation. Though the emperor wrote back "that there ⁹⁸ was none like Munir-ud-dowla whom His Majesty might prefer and that he was a true and upright person, a servant faithfully attached to his Royal Majesty, and a friend and well-wisher of the English Sardar", he had at last ⁹⁹ to give way before the Governor who had already dictated a treaty ¹⁰⁰ whereby the Vazir had undertaken to reduce his army and practically sell himself to the British. But Munir-ud-dowla also could not be ignored. He had to be sent back to the court for the emperor was again insisting on his being established on his paternal throne and the notorious Husam who had again gained the ears of the emperor had caused Shuqqas to be addressed ¹⁰¹ to Ahmad Khan Bangash requiring his participation in the proposed expedition to Delhi.

Munir-ud-dowla, on his return, effected reconciliation with the Vazir, and induced the emperor to

96. *Ibid.* 1058.

97. *Ibid.* 1076.

98. *Ibid.* 1096, 1109.

99. *Ibid.*

100. The Treaty of 28 Nov. 1768.

101. I. N. 148.

favour the former with a visit to Faizabad¹⁰² (1769). The emperor began to receive the tribute money which had been stopped for several months and Munir-ud-dowla did his duties as the Governor's "Naib and Wakil¹⁰³ in the Presence" in respect of the regulation and introduction of the proposed gold currency and sundry other matters. But his efforts to dissuade the emperor from going to Agra again gave a handle to his enemies in the court and put his life at stake. Fortunately, Hazaribakht¹⁰⁴ Singh, a Jamadar, who at the instigation of Husam attacked the Minister with a dagger within the precincts of the royal palace was disarmed by the historian, Ghulam Ali,¹⁰⁵ and cut down by Sidi Balal Md. and an open fight between the conspirators and the followers of the minister was averted by the intervention of the emperor and the English General. Realizing that his rivals were too much intrenched in the royal favour to be dislodged, and being sick of the changeful attitude of his master, Munir-ud-dowla tendered his resignation and desired permission to retire to the Holy lands¹⁰⁶. He wrote to the Governor that he had been practically ignored in the deliberations concerning the proposed expedition.

The emperor at once appointed others in place of Munir-ud-dowla to manage the royal business at court and regarding Bengal tribute, and not only

102. C. P. C. II 1298, 1300, 1313.

103. *Ibid.* 1335, 1352.

104. I. N. 141a.

105. S. A. N. 254.

106. *Ibid.* See C. P. C. II 1402. 1627,

asked the Governor "to reject whatever¹⁰⁷ Munir-ud-dowla might say or write" and regard "void and forged the letters in his possession" but he practically charged him with embezzlements and sent Fazle Ali¹⁰⁸ Khan to examine his accounts. The governor addressed a strong letter to the emperor (November 6, 1769) where he reminded the latter that "It was fourteen years¹⁰⁹ since Munir-ud-dowla had been engaged in the Royal Service and his loyalty and capability, sincerity and honesty" had never been questioned. Though wicked "low and poverty stricken persons" had conspired to "assassinate him at the gate of the palace, under the eyes of His Majesty, no one was punished for this" He regarded the charges against Munir-ud-dowla as baseless and marked his resentment by refusing the Khilat, sent through Afzal Ali Khan, and dismissing him. The immediate reaction of this virtual rebuke of the Governor was in no way favourable to the fallen minister. On the contrary, the emperor continued to talk of Munir-ud-dowla's "embezzlement¹¹⁰," and as late as march, 1770, he¹¹¹ expressed his final decision on the "joint representation of the Governor and the Vazir" that he would forgive Munir-ud-dowla after he had settled his accounts". He warned the Governor once again "not importune him any more about Munir-ud-dowla".

107. C. P. C. II 1542.

108. *Ibid.* 1627, 1688.

109. *Ibid.* 1668.

110. C. P. C. III 15, 16, 43.

111. *Ibid.* 107.

He had, however, to yield for his affairs had fallen in confusion and despite his repeated remonstrances he had received no money but empty excuses from the English. We find him writing on April 13, 1770, "It is more than 11 months"¹¹² since Munir-ud-dowla left the court that not a rupee of the Bengal tribute has been paid. His Majesty therefore has depended on loans for his expenses". Obviously, the Governor would not permit Bengal tribute to be utilized for anything against the company's ¹¹³ interests. Munir-ud-dowla had already been prevailed upon to postpone ¹¹⁴ his pilgrimage and his services appeared to be again indispensable. The new complexion of political situation, consequent upon the re-appearance of the Mahrattas and Najib's continued illness and representation ¹¹⁵ of helplessness, had given a new zest to the emperor's projects to repair to Delhi.

Some six or seven days before Munir-ud-dowla's arrival at Allahabad (26. 10. 1771) the emperor, being urged on by Husamuddin Khan, had sent Saifuddin ¹¹⁶ Md. Khan to negotiate settlement with Marhattas concerning his pet projects. Munir-ud-dowla was apparently welcomed and restored to his high offices but all his efforts and those of the Vazir's, to whom he paid a visit in Jan. 1772 ¹¹⁷ to persuade the emperor to abandon his resolve to

112. *Ibid.* 169.

113. *Ibid.* Introduction.

114. *Ibid.* 31.

115. Sarkars F. M. E. II.

116. I. N. 1496; C. P. C. III 548.

117. C. P. C. III 562.

march to Delhi, proved futile, particularly because Najib's death and the Mahratta's occupation of the forts and the city had upset the emperor and filled his mind with all sorts of misgivings. At last the emperor moved on to Sarai Alam Chand where the Vazir and General Barkar met him and found him obdurate. Realising that "no further representation would bear any fruit, "Munir-ud-dowla decided"¹¹⁸ not to accompany His Majesty to the capital and thus shake off the confidence of the English Sardars". The vazir, too, managed to secure abstention from personal attendance in this campaign by furnishing troops, equipages and a loan of 10 lacs¹¹⁹ (12 lacs acc. to Khairuddin). The necessity of discharging this and other debts of the emperor provided a pretext for Munir-ud-dowla being permitted to return¹²⁰ to Allahabad so as to manage its affairs together with those of Korah.

We need not consider the diplomatic moves and counter moves of the emperor, the Vazir, the English and the Marhatas concerning the question of Korah and Allahabad. Suffice it to refer to a letter of Munir-ud-dowla, dated Aug. 4, 1771 wherein¹²¹ we read "Advised the Governor, as he always advised Lord Clive and Mr. Verelst, to keep the two forts (Allahabad and Korah) in his possession; has also pointed out to General Barkar the necessity of stationing English troops in them. As Korah is on the boundary of the Company's territories and the

118. C. P. C. III 747.

119. *Ibid.* 798, 934.

120. I. N. 154.

121. C. P. C. III 849.

said forts are considered as the gates of Bengal, it is necessary for the Governor to keep them in possession.,, We must remember that Munir-ud-dowla was supposed to be a Naib of the Vazir to whom the Subadari¹²² of the two places had been again transferred by the emperor.

Munir-ud dowla remained in charge of Korah and Allahabad till a little before his death which occurred in Benares, in Oct. 11, 1773.¹²³ But even he could not be trusted by his friends, the astute English, who appointed Mr. Lawrell,¹²⁴ a member of the Council, to conduct the administration of the districts on behalf of the company, in April 1773. Khairuddin speaks highly of Munir-ud-dowla's administration of Allahabad and Korah. He not only collected the "out-standing balances due from the districts", largely through his able lieutenant, Baqaullah¹²⁵ Khan, a grandson of the famous Amir Khan, Anjam, but he "diligently enquired¹²⁶ into the condition of the ryots", suppressed their oppressors and other mischief-makers, converted scarcity and famine into plenty, regularly attended to the complaints of the distressed, and administered impartial justice to all. The historian has related how Munir-ud-dowla once allowed a female sweeper, the member of the most degraded caste to beat a high born, well-connected and much respected courtier, with the same shoe as had been used against her, and when questioned, he pointed

122. I. N. C. P. C. III 747.

123. C. P. C. IV.

124. *Ibid.*

125. T. K.

126. I. N. 154.

out that in the eyes of law his own son and an ordinary sweeper had the same rights, and that if he made any discrimination he would have to answer for that on the Day¹²⁷ of Judgment. In short, by his wise and efficient management of revenue, even-handed justice, and ameliorative measures, he made the people happy and contented and the country prosperous. We get evidence of the charitable disposition and the beneficent regard of Munir-ud-dowla for sacred institutions¹²⁸ and highly and saintly personages.

Before we conclude this brief life-history of Nawab Munir-ud-dowla, it is necessary to refer to a serious allegation brought against him by some later writers¹²⁹. We are told that the date of the letter addressed by Shuja-ud-dowla to Hafiz Rahmat Khan, after his defeats in 1764-5, inviting the Ruhillas to join him in a crusade against the English, was maliciously changed, and the forged letter was sent by Munir-ud-dowla to governor, Hastings, to create bad blood between him and the Vazir. The matter was cleared on the occasion of Hasting's interview with the Vazir at Benares in 1773. But Shuja felt very angry with the Rohilla chief who, he thought, must have made over this letter to Munir-ud-dowla and this made him more determined to annihilate the power of the Ruhillas. The gossipy author of *Imad-us-Saadat*. (Gholam Ali) and his borrowers, Muhtasham Khan and

127. I.N.155.

128. T.K.pp. 165, 169, *a.b.*

129. I.S; T.M; Q.T.

Kamaluddin, who relate the story, can not be taken seriously. But the authors of *Tuhfa-i-Taza*¹³⁰ and *Tarikh-i-Benares*¹³¹ also speak of the "tale-bearing", forged letters sent by Hafiz Rahmant Khan to Governor Hastings which necessitated the speedy advance of Shuja-ud-dowla to Benares to clear the misgivings of the Governor. While the one connects this event also with the Ruhilla war, the other writes, though a little after this incident, that "at this time", the Governor being displeased with Munir-ud-dowla wanted to replace him in the governments of Allahabad and Korah by Mr. Barton(?) and David Anderson. The Vazir, getting scent of it requested the Governor, through George Vansittart, Hushyar Jung, that their management be placed into his own hands. This gave a shock to Munir-ud-dowla and, though the Vazir was prepared to compensate him, his "nice sense of honour" would not allow him to accept it. Having declined the offer, he departed towards Azimabad (Patna) but fell ill and died at Benares. It is needless to say that the records, available here, are silent on the point.

Thus died the Persian noble who had grown grey in the service of Alamgir and Shih Alam. He was undoubtedly a man of parts and ability: Though not skilled in arms he was a clever diplomat and an able administrator. He was for a considerable number of years one of the privileged actors in the drama of the mid-eighteenth century. Indian History

130 T.T.p. 402.

131. T.Bp. 159.

which from the Moghal point of view was, however, all tragic. Owing to strange conjunction of events the qualities of this old statesman seemed only to enhance the agonies of the shrivelled and gasping Moghal empire instead of abating them in any way. The chief reasons for this lie in his friendship for the English E. I. Co., who were rising at the cost of what he proposed to serve, and in the unstable disposition of his royal master, who at one time tried to appoint him Prime Minister in place of Shuja-ud-dowla and at another considered him unworthy of his confidence. The policy of Munir-ud-dowla which was like that of "running with the hare and hunting with the hound" was bound to fail.

A TIBETAN ACCOUNT OF BENGAL

(Contd. from J.B.O.R.S., December 1940)

By S. C. SARKAR

PART II (B)

*About Candragupta, Cāṇakya, Vindusāra
and Śrī-Candra*

Now then, the King Candragupta's son Vindusāra-by in the country of Go. vo. ra. (Gauḍa) regal sway for 35 years was held. The minister the brāhmaṇa Cāṇaka-by, Bhairava, Yamarāja and the angels of death having propitiated, of the land of Ḍi. li., etc., of 16 cities, the Kings and (*or* the Kings') ministers by magic rites ('abhi-cāra') killed, petrified, stupefied, etc., and finally (*or* the rest) by the King's army completely brought under subjection. The minister in his next life, in Hell, and in (the world of) Yamarāja Dharmarāja, and amongst the Nāgas, and in Pretaloka, having been reborn, subsequently in Nara-loka in the various low castes being reborn, finally, by the favour of Yamarāja and the angels of death, in no long time, into a Pratyeka-Buddha being changed, was liberated: (thus) it is said by Mañju-Śrī-mūla-tantra and others.

By that king (Vindusāra), 'Puṣpa-hāra' ('P°-maṇḍaṇa', *or* 'P°-ābharāṇa', etc.,) thus called Vihāra (was erected); and by his descendant's son (*or* younger

brother's descendant), king Śrī-Candra, in that place (i.e., Puṣpa-hāra-Vihāra) the shrine (altar) of Avalokiteśvara, and in Nā.len.dra. 14 'gandha-Kūṭis,' having been erected, the 'ācārya' Piṭṛ-dāsa (P°-ceṭa) and the abbot Rāhula-bhadra the junior, were worshipped, it is said. Thereafter that Piṭṛ-dāsa, of the Prācī and of the city of 'Khor.ta.', a merchants' young daughter to the brāhmaṇa Saragha-guhya as wife gave (in marriage); their son Kṛṣṇa thus called was born.....(Kṛṣṇa's career).....(Kṛṣṇa's different names).....(Piṭṛ-dāsa at Nālanda).....Thereafter, in the Prācī, in the eastern part of it (lit. 'under the rising Sun'), the King Śrī-Candra's son Dharma-Candra, and the minister the brāhmaṇa Vasu-netra (V°-mitra?) having the face of Avalokiteśvara, worshipped the Tri-ratna.....

ADDENDUM I

Hāri Candra, King in Baṅgala in the Prācī, the first of the Candras of the royal family of Candra (i.e. Candragupta), was a Tāntrika Buddhist, a 'Siddha' and a 'vidyādhara'; he adopted Buddhism with 1000 of his courtiers, and in his time Tāntrik Buddhism flourished in Bengal (84).

Hari Candra having passed away (in a rainbow halo) without issue his nephew Akṣa Candra and after him his son Jaya Candra protected the Kingdom in the Prācī. In the time of Hari Candra and his two successors flourished the missions of Bhikṣu Saṃghavardhana in Kashgar, Vāmana in Turkestan, Kuṇāla in Kashmir, Śubhaṃkara (Kalyāṇakara) in Magadha in the Prācī, and of the Ācārya Saṃghavar-

dhana in Eastern Prācī. In that time the foreigners became the fore-most in the Dharma (*or* patrons of the Buddhist church). (88).

In the time of King Jaya Candra's son Nema (i) Candra the brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra rebelled in the Madhyadeśa of Āryāvarta and dethroned him, and persecuted the Buddhists, burnt monasteries, and died 5 years after in the North. (89).

Thereafter while Nema Candra's son Pani Candra was reigning in (or from) Magadha, the 'king' (or governor) of Bhaṅgala, in particular of Goḍa, Vardhana (by name), repaired ancient Buddhist temples (while another Sthavira worked in the same line in Magadha). In that time Mlecchas were in occupation of Western India, and the first foreign invasion of Madhyadeśa of Bhārata occurred, and the Persian (*or* Bactrian) (Stag. gsig.) King Halalu flourished at the city of Bāgaṇ in the Molatāna province. (89).

In the time of Pani Candra's son Bhiṣa Candra and of his son Sāla Candra in the Prācī, in the capital city of Sva.nar.gā.wo. in Bhaṅgala, the brāhmaṇa Kāśijāta established Buddhist Vihāras and popularised Buddhism. (87, 89).

In the time of Candragupta (II) son of king Sāla Candra, Nāgahava (Bāṅgālī pupil in Chemistry of Nāgārjuna at Puṇḍra-varḍhana) and Āryadeva taught at Nālendra. (89).

In the Prācī, in the land of the rising sun (i.e. in Eastern Prācī) the King Śrī Candra's son Dharma Candra had the devout Buddhist brāhmaṇa Vasunetra (Vasumitra ?) as his minister; and at that time in Kāś-

mīra appeared the Turuṣka Dharmarājas who ruled for a hundred years with great power (*or*, as Buddhist Saints). (92).

In Dharma Candra's time, in Molatāna and Sāhora (Lahore?), Khunima-Masta (Mazda) the 'Stag. gsig.' (Parthian) King destroyed the path of freedom (i.e. conquered the country or suppressed Buddhism). Dharma Candra at first became furious with him, and then broke the peace with him, and then at a favourable opportunity both sent presents and good wishes to one another,—e. g., Dharma Candra presented silken robes, etc. (92).

At that time Dharma Candra's maternal uncle's son Buddha-pakṣa (B°-Yakṣa) became king of Varanasi, and sent presents and envoys to the Chinese Emperor; he was much adored by the princelings of West and Middle India, and he attacked and captured the (aforesaid) King of the Parthians. (92). His Guru was Maticitra the Younger (92). Maticitra the Senior was an alternative name of Aśvaghoṣa (91 and 109), also called Mātṛceṭa (of Kāśmīra) and Pitṛdāsa (being a contemporary of Śrī Candra). (62, 91).

In Dharma Candra's time in the City of Pāñcāla King Buddha-pakṣa's son Gambhīra-pakṣa (G°-Yakṣa) became king; after 40 years of his reign, when 12 years had elapsed, Dharma Candra's son Br̥kṣa Candra, though he reigned had little power, while Jāliruha the King of Oḍiśā waxed in power; and while in Kashmir the Turuṣka King's son Mahāsammata (and his successors for a century) ruled in power over Kashmir, Turkestan and Gajānī,

etc., and at the same time became Dharmarājas. (93).

In the Prācī, Dṛkṣa Candra's (direct) 'descendant' king Ve (Vi) gama Candra and his son Kāma Candra who successively reigned there, inwardly in both (Buddhism and Nir-granthas—Jainas—or Nagna-Kṣapaṇakas) believed, but rather strongly in the latter. (99).

Siṃha Candra of the Candra Dynasty, king of East Magadha was less powerful than his neighbour Bharṣa (Bharṣi), king of West Magadha, son of King Siṃha of the Dynasty of the Lichavyis. (101). Both were contemporaries of the Buddhist sage Ārya Mukta (Unmukta). (101). King Siṃha Candra's capital city was Ābhara-pura. (130).

[The Siṃha Kings were born of the Licchavi race, and ruled in Magadha; the 5th king of the Siṃha Dynasty (Siṃha V) was the son of King Bhāṣara (also called King Siṃha Bharṣi, *or* (apparently) this was his predecessor),—and the 5th King (*or* they) patronised both Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism. (97, 101, 102). Lalita-vajra, a Buddhist sage, was their contemporary. (144). Siṃha Bharṣi was also a Buddhist author. (101).

Kāśa, a younger son of King Bhāṣara, patronised Buddhist scholars at Nālendra, and presented 108 pearl caskets to them. (102). Under his patronage (*or* that of his son Prakāśa?) occurred the famous 'vicāra' at Varāṇasi between Saṅkarācārya and Dharmakīrti, the latter winning and the former committing suicide in the Ganges. (106). Kumāra-līla (Kumārīla) taught Brāhmaṇism secretly to Dharmakīrti in Magadha. (106). Dharmakīrti's pupil was

Mahāsyani (*or* Mahāsenā, i.e. M^o-Gupta ?) son of king Prakāśa (-Sena) (-Gupta ?) of Magadha, and in Mahāsenā's time Saṅkara's appearance in Orissa was 16 years old. (107, 305).

Sākya Mahābala (*or* Śakra Mahendra), elder brother of King Prakāśa (*or* Kāśa), conquered all between Haridvāra and Kāśmīra; his teacher was Vasubandhu author of Kośa-commentary, etc. (66, 105).

King Kāśa (*or* Prakāśa), ruling at Varāṇasi, sent an image of Buddha to Kaṃśa-deśa (Kashgar, etc.) or the land of 'Candana' (Can-ten=Kushan; Candana-deśa=Khotan), whence a Chinese Emperor took it ('Candana-prabhu') away to Peking subsequently. (137).]

Prakāśa Candra, king of Bhaṅgala, was a Buddhist 'Siddha-tāntrika' (115), and his disciple was the Buddhist sage Subhūti-pālita. In the Candra Dynasty King Karma Candra's son was the King Br̥kṣa Candra. (66, 93). Indra Candra, Phaṇi Candra, Bhaṃsa (*or* Haṃsa) Candra, and Siddha Candra were other Candra Kings.

Prince Bāla Candra (*of* Baṅgala), son of King Siṃha Candra of Baṅgala and East Magadha, was banished by his father from Baṅgala to Tīrahūti, but being a devout Buddhist became a conqueror in all four quarters. (102).

King Bāla Candra's son was Vimala Candra, and he ruled over Baṅgala, Tīrahūti and Kāmarūpa. (105, 108). Vimala Candra patronised the Buddhist sage Ratna-Kīrti, and his teacher was Ācārya Amara-Siddha. (105). King Vimala Candra married the sister of King Bhartṛhari, and their son was Gobi

Candra. (105, 108). Gopi Candra, the son of King Vimala Candra of Magadha, was the sister's son of king Bhartṛhari of Mālava, the successor of Viṣṇu-Rāja (or King Viṣṇu) son of Vardhana of Sthāṇu. (105, 108). King Gopi Candra's maternal uncle Bhartṛhari's court was first graced by Jālandhari-pā, who converted that king to Tāntrik Buddhism before he visited Gopi Candra's Court. Bhartṛhari had at first suspected him of robbery and punished him with impaling, but later repented and became a Buddhist, and was later regarded as a Buddhist Saint himself. (108). Queen Lalitā-Nāginī was the mother of King Gopi Candra. (110). Soon after accession Gopi Candra renounced secular life under the influence of Jālandhari-pā and Kahṇa-pā (Kṛṣṇācārya). In Tibet he was known as King of Baṅgala in the East (Prācī), and Cāṭigāvo was known as 'Gopi Candra's Land'. (109). Gopi Candra's 'guru' Kṛṣṇācārya (Kahṇa-pā) (108) preached the Kāla, Kṛṣṇa or 'Kha. spyor.' Tantra (of sex mysticism and ritual posture of male and female devotees seated in physical union). (135). Gopi Candra of Cāṭigāvo was also initiated into Tāntrikism by Jālandhari-pā, whom he had first ordered to be burned alive; Jālandhara was a low caste Sindhī of Nagar Ṭhāṭṭā, a disciple of 'Lva.wa.pā.' and Jñāna-Ḍākinī, and a Tāntrika Buddhist following the Hevajra-Tantra (he was anti-Saiva, and destroyed the Svayambhūnātha Śiva-līṅga in Nepāl). (108, 109). Gopi Candra earned the appellation of 'Diñ-mukta' (66). Gopi Candra and his successor Lalita Candra, the last of the Candras, were both converted to Tāntrik Buddhism by

Kahṇa-pā, who was a native of Oḍi-viśa and flourished in Acintya-Vihāra (Ajaṇṭā). (110). In King Lalita Candra's time flourished the Buddhist sages Sāntisoma, Subhamitra and Śīla-rakṣita. (108).

ADDENDUM II

(*Extracts from Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*)

Ajāta the Māgadha King (321) will be rājā of Aṅga, Magadha up to (adjacent to) Vārāṇasī, in the North up to Vaiśālī (322).

His son will be king by name "U" (324); he will lean towards the Buddha's teaching and will have it reduced to writing. His reign will be for 20 years, and he will be with his father for 30 years, and will die at midnight. (326).

These were contemporaries of Śākya-Siṃha Buddha, all Kṣatriyas, all of whom had come in personal contact with the Buddha and respected his teachings:—

(Apart from others named) 'Bimbisāra and another'; Suvāhu, Sudhanu, Mahendra, Camasa; Udāyi; Ajāta. (344-353).

100 years after the Buddha.....there will arise at Kusumapura an emperor famous as Aśoka. At first he will be sharp in action, furious and cruel; having come across a selfless bhikṣu he will turn considerate.....(353-8).....He was deified after death; he worshipped Buddha-relics year (s) 87, lived year (s) 100, and died of disease. (379).

After this Aśoka the First (Mukhya), there will be Vi (Vīta)-śoka, who will worship Buddha-relics,

year (s) 76: good king: died of fever. After him was Sūra (Vīra)-Sena; he set up stūpas as far as the confines of the Sea; he reigned year (s) 17. After him will be king Nanda at Puspapura; he will have a large army and he will be a great power. He became known as 'the Nīca-mukhya', and his power was due to his agent 'the Piśāca Pilu'. He had been the Prime Minister; by dark means he became King. In the Māgadha capital there were arrogant Brāhmaṇa controversialists who surrounded this King; the King though pious and just gave them riches. His great friend was the Brāhmaṇa Pāṇini; but his minister was the Brāhmaṇa Vararuci, who was a Buddhist of high soul, kind and good; owing to association with such good men the King built 24 Vihāras and became a believer in the Buddha; the King, though true, caused alienation of feeling of the council of ministers at Pāṭala-nagara. He became very ill and died, year 67. (416-439).

Later than him Candragupta will become King; he will be magnificent, true to word and of high civic sense (mahābhogī, satyasandha and dharmātmā). On bad advice he killed many, wherefore he fainted with carbuncles at his death. He placed on his throne his son Bindusāra, a minor, at midnight, with tears, in charge of the wicked prime minister. (By virtue of piety in former birth) Bindusāra was born in the Candra-(not Nanda-) rāja-kula of Candragupta. While a minor the king enjoyed great ease; in full manhood he grew to be a powerful yet persuasive king; he ruled by himself only 7 years (read 'sapta tu' for 'saptati'). His prime minister was Cāṇakya,

like death when angry; that bad brāhmaṇa lived a long time and covered 3 reigns; he went to Hell. (439-458).

In the dark age there will be king Gomi-Mukhya (Gomi-Ṣaṇḍa—535), the destroyer of Buddhism. Having seized the Prācī and Kāśmīra-dvāra, this wicked one will destroy monasteries and relics and kill monks. He will die in the North, being killed along with his court and his brutal relations by the fall of a rock. (530-534).

In the Eastern Regions there were many good kings in the past....the foremost of those good kings I shall tell you of: Loka by name, with the royal title of Rājya-var dhana, scion of the family of the Gauḍas, son of Yaśaśvin, born in Vardhamāna-nagara. He was a well-wisher of the Dharma. (641-643).

Afterwards the King according to 'Śruta' (Purāṇic tradition) will be Buddha-p (Y) akṣa; he, a Mahā-Yakṣa, very charitable, will be devoted to the Buddhist Law and System in that dark age; he will die full of age. That King out of love for the Doctrine, will build in many places monasteries, parks, caityas, Buddha images, reservoirs, wells, rest houses, etc.; so will his son, the famous Gambhīra-Yakṣa, King over the whole country and having a big army and great power. (538-546).

In the Uttarāpatha will rise the Turuṣka king, of great army and great vigour; up to Kāśmīra-dvāra, Bāṣkala, Udyāna with Kāviśa, over 700 yojanas he ruled.....86 thousand stūpas he will raise. He established the doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā, the

foremost element of the Mahāyāna in the country.—After him, Mahā-Turuṣka, known by the name of Maheśa ("Great King") and Mahā-Yakṣa, the "Sam-mata" (=agreed head) of his related tribal groups, will also become king, with a large army; he will build 8 thousand Vihāras. (570-579). The Śaka Dynasty is known to be of 30 rulers *plus* 21 others; 18 of them are known to be paramount rulers of North Madhyadeśa. (610-612). At their close will be Nāga-Senas (*or* Nāgas and Senas), who too pass away. (612).

The Nāga Kings in Gauḍa caused to be made beautiful Buddha images, caityas and vihāras for the Saṃgha of the land; after them the Gauḍa capital became full of Tīrthikas. (691-3). Then in *this* Pūrvadeśa in *this* capital (Gauḍa) full of Tīrthikas, Bhagavā was crowned king of the Gauḍas by the sacrificer Prabha-Viṣṇu lord of the Dākṣiṇātya. He (Bhagavā) having ruled there (in Gauḍa advanced to the West, entered the City of Sāketa, but fell back; the Prācī to the limits of the Sea became infested by brigands, and the king died in skirmish after 3 year's reign,—but government went on for another 3 years in his name. (694-699).

About the Minor (Śiśu) of the Vaiśya Caste,—which was the subsequent status of the Nāgas, they being originally Brāhmaṇas of lower order:—Nāgarājas will become kings of Gauḍa, supported by Brāhmaṇas and other Vaiśyas; the Nāgas were surrounded by Vaiśyas, themselves being Vaiśyas; their government becoming (later on) inefficient, there will be distress from famine, invasions and brigands;

the government will have no checks, and the rule full of slaughter and danger to life will last for 6 years. These Vaiśyas will become distrustful of one another. Then their king will be Prabha-Viṣṇu, who will adopt the Kṣatriya ('vṛtti') status. (750, 755).

In the Gauḍa-tantra there will (then) be kings, some of whom lost their lives in battle, others by disease; they all went to hell.—Then Śīśu (the Minor) will be King, in whose court women will hold the chief power; he will rule for a fortnight and be assassinated. A great famine and invasion made the Prācyā Janapadas distracted, terrorised and demoralised. In that region then will be a great king, formerly a rich merchant (vaṇik), born of the Jāta family of Madhurā, he became the King over the Māgadhas, and his statue was worshipped. (755-760).

Subsequently to 'him' (*either* Madhurā-Jāta-vaṁśaja *or* Prabha-Viṣṇu) Samudra, of good fame, will be king; his next successor the famous 'Bhasma' [wrong for Tibetan Raah.sma.=Sans. Rāma] by name, that man of low intelligence and perverted mind, will get the kingdom for '3 days' (i.e. a short time). He (Samudra) was masterly, bloody, of great power and dominion, cruel, careful about his own person, unmindful about the hereafter, animal-sacrificing; with bad councillors he committed many vicious deeds. The realm was flooded with carping logicians and miserly brāhmaṇas; luxurious living and costly funerary rituals; the king too acquired various riches. In repeated campaigns he reached the West, and in the North reached up to Kāśmīradvāra, and even there won battles. Thereafter he

ruled for 22 years 5 months; stricken by disease he fainted repeatedly and died in great misery and went down to Hell. (700-708).

Listen about the Middle Age Kings of Madhyadeśa, who will follow the middle path in religious policy and who will be kings over kings with confidence for a long period: . . . King Samudra; Vikrama, whose good fame is chanted; Mahendra, the good king who was a leader (Mukhya); 'Sa'-initialled coming after 'Ma' (Skanda after Mahendra), his name being Devarāja; he will have various titles; he will be the best wise and pious king in that dark age. (645-647).

[Cf. the evidence of Candragarbha Pari-prcchā:—King Mahendra-sena of Kauśāmbī had a son of 12-13, who led his army of 2 lacs against the Hūṇa army of 3 lacs that had invaded the empire; won decisively, was crowned king by his father who retired, and after 12 more years of strenuous and successful war ruled peacefully as Emperor of Jambudvīpa.]

His younger brother (*or* next successor), Bāla by name, will be Buddhist. After reigning without a thorn and in peace, he became an ordained monk. He will make the East up to the Sea decorated with Caityas; over the whole country he will build monasteries, parks, reservoirs, pavilions, roads, bridges etc., and will worship Buddha images. Finally at the age of 36 years 1 month he committed suicide by swooning away while in dhyāna, after he had become a monk owing to grief for his dead son. (648-652).

Next to him (Bāla of Pūrvadeśa: 671) the king

is known as Kumāra (II) by name, who became the lord of the Gauḍas; he too was devoted to Dharma; next to him was the well known Śrīmān "U-initialled". (674-5). After that there will be disruption. (675).

There was a civil war amongst them, greedy for the Kingdom. It ended by the installation of the 'S'-initialled, the young son of Bāla, who became a mere symbol. The brāhmaṇa leaders who had done this became disunited amongst themselves and retracted this step; the leading Brāhmaṇa then crowned two boys ('2 Bālas') as Kings, one in the West, having repaired to Udumbara-pura in Māgadha-janapada, and thereafter going to the Prācī, in the janapada of Gauḍa set up the other boy as rivalless. Then the wicked one (who?) caused the foremost of the boy kings (Bāla-Mukhya) to be assassinated in Kaliṅga; led by evil friends he (who?) took many lives and killed all those Gauḍa citizens who had been partisans of the princes who had fostered this civil war. (708-714).

His (apparently the last Gupta Emperor's) descendant the 'Bha'-initialled (Bhānu) took refuge in the Prācī. His son the 'Pra'-initialled was born in the Prāg-deśa, and has been spoken of as the leading Kṣatriya (of his time). He was imprisoned as a boy and remained in prison up to the age of 17 years; he had been imprisoned by Gopa-rāja and was released at Bhagavat (pura). (760-762).

'Ha' (Hūṇa), who came from the West, was a great king; he occupied the banks of the Ganges up to the East. He was of Śūdra varṇa, had a large

army and great power; from his base on the Ganges he swept all around, and investing and capturing the city of the Gaudas called Tirtha, remained there as a powerful king. Thither that Kṣatriya boy with a merchant was entered at night and was acknowledged next dawn by that Sūdra king, who then retired to Nanda-pura on the Ganges and as King of Magadha installed that boy there. (766-67).

That powerful Sūdra King then entered the Kāśī country and at Vārāṇasī fell ill. 'Ha' (Hūṇa) falling very ill crowned his son 'graha'-named (Mi-hira), a minor, and died.....The King will enjoy dominions which had been acquired by others. His son was established at Vārāṇasī; the latter's kingdom will be lost on account of an attack from his neighbour; the kingdom will be full of brāhmaṇas and will be attacked by enemies. This king called 'graha' was an erring and arbitrary one, and without much delay he was struck down by his enemy and died. (768-771; 771-779).

Then there will be Viṣṇu and Hara (°i.?), and Kunta-nāmā Hara (°i?), or (another) Ājita. (Then) Īśāna, Śarva, Avanti, Graha and Suvrata; then they lose their kingdoms and fall from prestige. (613-614).

There were at the time 2 prosperous and rich persons from Madhyama (Madhyamikā ?=Chitor or Mandāśor region), born of Viṣṇu, the first of them being 'Bha'-initialled, both of whom at that time became chief ministers; these two wealthy, majestic and famous personages were devoted to the Bud-

dhist System; afterwards (by dint of their Buddhist virtue) both became kings. Then there were 3 kings for 78 (*or* 115) years (including the reign of the last, *or* excluding it):—Āditya by name, the Vaiśya, dwelling in Sthāṇu-īśvara; ending with 'Ha'-initialled (Harṣa) an universal king. (614-618).

Then Soma (=Śaśāṅka), an unparalleled hero, will become king up to the banks of the Ganges (Gaṅgā-tīra=Tirabhukti?) and thereafter even in Vārāṇasī; he will destroy Buddha images and burn the bridge of Buddhist (Jina) Doctrine at the word of Tīrthikas, and in anger and greed destroyed monasteries, parks, caityas and 'āvasathas' of Nirgranthas. (715-718).

At that time in Madhyadeśa was the good king 'Ra' (Rājya), of Vaiśya caste, Buddhist, and as powerful as Soma; he was killed by a king of 'Nagna' tribe. His younger brother 'Ha' (Harṣa), great hero, brave, of great army, decided against the famous Soma; the King of Vaiśya profession marched with large army against the East country and the fine (city of) Puṇḍra-pura,—and adopting the Kṣātra attitude under a sense of personal injury and indignation he, though kind, learned and leaning to Buddhism, yet became an oppressor of men for the sake of chastisement. He defeated the wicked Soma, who was forbidden to move out of his country and had to remain within it. 'Ha' returned, and was honoured in the Mleccha realm; he was successful in his venture, being helped by adepts in Artha and Dharma; having marched forth from the country with a definite object Rājya and Harṣa's entourage achieved

the business; thereafter 'Ha' attained the pleasures of royalty. Soma in former life (formerly?) was a Buddhist; so Soma as Brāhmaṇa king became prosperous; he gave to brāhmaṇas and ruled for 17 years 1 month and 1 week; died of cancer in the mouth, high fever and swooning, and went down to hell; his capital was destroyed by divine curse, and his death was due to 'mantra' of people. (720-735).

After the death of Soma, the Gauḍa-tantra was reduced to mutual distrust, armed risings and jealousies; one king for a week, another for a month, then a republican government,—such will be the changing (daily) condition of the country on '*this*' (i.e. East) bank of the Ganges, where houses came to be built out of the ruins of monasteries. Thereafter Soma's son Mānava ruled for 8 months 5 days. (745-748).

There will be dissensions in the Māgadha monarchy in the East at the time of the rise of Soma. At that time on the banks of Ganges (Gaṅgā-tīra=Tīrabhukti?) and at Vārāṇasī there will be king 'Pra' the Kṣatriya, recognised by the Sūdra King (Hūṇa) at Nanda-nagara on the Ganges. (Both in his previous Buddhist life and in his subsequent one) his contemporary was Soma (i.e. younger contemporary). He ruled for 55 (*or* 77) years. He ruled up to the Sea in the East, controlled the barbarian brigands sheltered in the Vindhyan valleys at his frontiers; he was rivalless in Magadha, from Aṭavī to Prācī-Samudra, beyond the Lauhitya up to Himavat to the North. This Buddhist king will rule between Kāśī-purī in the west and Śrīṅga-pura (to the East) (as alternative capitals?). He

conquered the king (s) called Pañca-Keśarī and overthrew and uprooted those Siṃha-ja princes (of Ka-linga) and established his own government; he then ruled all regions in the Himālayan valleys in the East up to the banks of the Daśānūpā.—But the traitors in the Vindhyan interior set themselves up as independent rulers in the ‘durga’ tracts, the South-Eastern part (of his kingdom) was conquered by Jaya-Nāga, and first a Keśarī, then another named Soma, became Kings (in the S. E. and the E.) This led to disruption of the Gauḍa realm (of ‘Pra’): this happened in the time of that Kṣatriya king (‘Pra’).—Born in prosperity the king was steeped in luxuries till dotage; he lived for 94 years and died of sheer old age. (780-82; 821-29; 829, A-C; 830-1).

In that dark age after ‘Pra’, there was confusion by his officers. ‘V’ was king for 1 week and was killed. After ‘Pra’, ‘Bh’ became king for 3 years. His (‘Pra’s) descendant (*or* next successor) ‘V’ was solemnly set up as king, and he ruled for 3 years. Thereafter Rājya-Vardhana (of Sthāṇvīśvara) became sovereign for 1 year; but he, like ‘V’, had a sudden unnatural ending. [Rājya-var dhana’s subsequent successor ‘Dha’ (Dhārasena) was lord of Magadha and universal emperor for 3 years.—847-52]. (843-46).

After him (‘Dha’) there will be in Gauḍa-tantra a king with the name of Śrī (at beg.), a Kṣatriya prince of the dynasty of ‘Pra’ [Capital ‘Va’, life 81 years, Brāhmaṇa minister Śāka-ja, builder of monasteries, ill-served by officers; a feudatory of his, ‘Ya’ became sovereign (Yaśovarman) and was acknowledged for 8 years, but was killed by women,—whereafter a

king of 'Pra'-dynasty again] (853-61). [This King killed his ('Ya's) ministers; he became senseless owing to revived prestige, took steps in hurry, was unsteady, a drunkard fond of rogues; while lying drunk he was assassinated. His only brother 'R' was king for 7 weeks and he favoured brāhmaṇas. (863-67).]

The separatist Gauḍas (Guptas) were terrible. Then Deva was known as King of Magadha; surrounded by enemies he was suppressed and killed. Immediately next Candra became king; he too was murdered. His son Dvādaśa lived (ruled) a few months, and as a minor king was assassinated. (676-78).

While these violent princes will be engaged in injury wishing harm to each other, there will arise at that time 'Bh', a leader of the Gauḍas, a Leader-King, but an invalid, who died of a great malady (Same as 'Sva' below ??). (679-81).

After him (i.e. after the last 'Pra'-dynasty king ?), 'Sva' will be king. He was Sūdra by caste, a cripple, low, non-religious, ill-tempered and argumentative. He destroyed brāhmaṇa zamindārs, religious men, etc.—But he was ever busy in maintaining law and order; his administration was sharp, he destroyed burglary, and prevented rascals from practising religious hypocrisy; he gave freedom (to the people) and donations; ruled for 17 years; died of leprosy: this is the history of the past kings of Prācyā, 'the Loka-Vardhanas' known to all peoples. (868-75).

'D' followed immediately as king for several 10-days. In *this* Gauḍa country on the Ganges the

next following king was 'Bh' (Bh. II) ruling for 3 days. Then there will be the king 'chosen by every one', Gopālaka. That king was sweet-speaking, considerate yet of great power. Earlier in youth he was in the hands of women, miserable, befooled and subdued by enemies; coming in contact with a good friend he became charitable and Buddhist, and made many vihāras, caityas, parks, reservoirs, fine free hotels, cave temples, deva-temples, etc.; the land was then full of Tīrthikas up to the Sea. The king loved splendour and pleasures, but was kind and loved 'Dharma', and was ready to take up praiseworthy work; ruled for 27 years; died on the Ganges at 80. (681-690).

Under King 'Pra' there will be a king, descendant of another family branching off from the dynasty of 'Pra', a brave Kṣatriya, ruling up to the 3 seas; in the East country he will have large army and power; he was Buddhist patron and builder (monasteries with relic shrines, rest houses, reservoirs, pavilions, roads and free-kitchen hotels); he was a Mahāyānist monk and great donor; learned, versed in tradition; known by the name of 'K' (Kumāra Gupta III), ruled for 21 years, died of cholera. His descendants became subordinate rulers. (876-882).

Then 'the Gopālas' became kings, coming of the Dāsa profession; the people had then become miserly towards brāhmanas; the times were irreligious, the Buddhist doctrine having been lost. (883-84).

NOTES UNDER 'INTRODUCTION' TO A TIBETAN ACCOUNT OF BENGAL¹

P. 3, l. 9, '*Synchronism*'. 1. It was Gopāla III who was a contemporary of Śrī Harṣa of Kāśmīra (1089-1101); the supposed synchronism of Gopāla I and Harṣa (-Vardhana) is a mistake, and not possible.

P. 3, l. 27, "*monastery*". 2. Ahbras. spuñs. or 'Dhānya-Kaṭaka Vihāra' was founded in 1415 A. D., probably after the overrunning of the Andhra country by the Muslims in the 14th century; this University had 8 Colleges, 1 for secular literature and 7 for sacred lore including History, Philosophy, Logic, Medicine and Science, Mathematics and Astronomy.

P. 4, l. 12, '*notes*'. 3. Dpag. bsam. ljon. bsañ., p. 75 (S. C. Dās' printed edn., 1908).

P. 4, l. 18, '*says*'. 4. Ibid. p. 75.

P. 4, l. 23, '*introduction*' and p. 5, l. 2, '*also*'.

5. Ibid. p. 65.

P. 5, l. 5, '*e.g.*' 6. Ibid. p. 68.

P. 5, l. 9, '*quotation*'. 7. Ibid. pp. 71-72.

P. 5, l. 16, '*passage*'. 8. Ibid. p. 123.

P. 5, l. 28, '*written*'. 9. It would be of very great importance to Indian historical studies if these original source books by the Māgadha paṇḍitas Indrabhadra and Indradatta and the Mālava paṇḍita Bhaṭabhadra could be traced in one or other of the many monastic libraries of Tibet; possibly the Ahbras. spuñs. monastery still possesses the copies used by Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. himself as late as the first half of the 18th century; he must have used in

¹ Contd. from J.B.O.R.S., December 1940.

that Vihāra lots of other original documents also, like "Ms. records of dynasties of Eastern and Southern India" which he "found" in Tibet (evidently removed thither during the 2 centuries which saw the fall of the Indian states of the East and the South before Muslim advance, c. 1200-c. 1400,—along with the dispersal of scholars from Indian Universities and their migration into Tibet and other Trans-Himalayan regions, Further India, East Indies, etc.,—when 'India flew the Himālayas' like Greece the Alps.). Clearly there was no dearth of Indian histories written by Indian scholars in the early medieval period,—long before the days of Kalhaṇa. In the present extracts there is a specimen of a quotation from Bhaṭabhadra only. Other Tibetan scholars also must have quoted here and there from these three Indian historians or perhaps from many more, and one line of future work lies in tracing these, and if possible to get at the original works.

NOTES ON 'THE 5 EXTRACTS'

(PART I : A)

P. 7, l. 12, '*described*.' 10. Pp. 65-66 of Dpag. bsam.^o, Dās' printed edn., 1908.

P. 7, l. 13, '*Dynasties*.' 11. Dpag. bsam.^o also gives traditional accounts of co-Buddhistic and pre-Buddhistic dynasties.

P. 7, l. 23, '*Prācī*'. 12. For the meaning of Prācī in Tibetan sources, vide notes 58-71 of my article on 'Ancient Indian Geography from Tibetan Blo. rca. wa.-s' in Indian Culture, vol. 7, no. 2. The early medieval writers include the whole country

from Tīrahūti (Campa-araṇa) to Cāṭigāvo and Oḍi-
viśa (Kaliṅga) to Kāmarūpa under 'Prācī', and appa-
rently also the hill-tracts and coastal regions of
Assam, Tippera, Chittagong, Arakan and Burma;
East Magadha lying to the East of the river Ṛṣi-
Kulyā (mod. Kiul R.), that is Aṅga,—Gauḍa, Puṇ-
dra, Rāḍha, Bhāṭī (estuary of the Ganges) and Bhaṅ-
gala (or Baṅgāla),—are of course included; it is to be
noted that West and South Bihar, or Magadha, as
well as Kāśī-Kośala, etc., are *not* included within
'Prācī', while North Bihar and East Bihar are.

P. 7, l. 29, '*also.*' 13. Vide n. 5 *sub.* Introd.
This paragraph is Sum. pa.°s *own*, and not a quota-
tion, and it shows that his mind is historical. His
statements and generalisations here deserve consi-
deration: his study of the sources has led him to
doubt the prevalent notion in later ages that in the
whole dynastic history of India none could attain
Aśoka's fame; he acknowledges that India was never
fully united in one state after Asoka,—observing
that in this respect the persistence of local dynasties
and separatism in Tibet is a parallel; yet he finds from
direct study of records of dynasties, that the Middle
Country (Magadha and adjacent regions) was not the
only part of India which produced paramount and
famous Kings and dynasties, but that the Prācī and
the Dākṣiṇātya have also claims to an honoured place,
equally with it. The evident reference is to the
Candras and the Pālas of the Prācī, in the first in-
stance,—who are esteemed by Buddhist writers as
much as the Mauryas (the Candras being in fact,
as will be seen, a branch of the Mauryas).

P. 8, l. 2, 'Kalpa-koṣa.' 14. 'Rgya. gar. chos, aḥbyuñ. dgos. aḥdod. kun. aḥbyuñ.' las.; this either represents the full title of the work translated by Scheifner ('Rgya. gar. chos. aḥbyuñ.'), or refers to two works by Tārānātha, one 'Rgya. gar. chos. aḥbyuñ.' (Bhārata-dharma-Sambhava), the other 'Dgos. aḥdod. kun. aḥbyuñ.' i.e. 'Rgya. gar. dgos. aḥdod. kun. aḥbyuñ' (Kalpa-koṣa or Bhārata-kalpa-koṣa),—the quotations here being from both at random; these, it is to be noted, are in verse. 'Aḥbyuñ' has the sense of 'history,—early origins and development'; so alt. renderings for 'sambhava' above may be 'nidāna' or 'purāṇa', etc.; so also for 'Kalpa-koṣa' above may be read 'bañchā-nidhi,' etc. There is another work by Tārānātha, dealing with history of Later Buddhism (sp. 10th to 17th cent. A.D.), entitled 'Bkaah. aḥbab. bdun.' or the Seven Original Traditions, 'Nidāna-śruti-saptaka'; this was printed by S. C. Das 46 years ago in 1895, but not edited critically or translated.

P. 8, l. 2, 'verse.' 15. The order of the quoted verses in Sum. pa.'s text is clearly topsy-turvy; so I have rearranged it in accordance with known facts; the text order is indicated here by the markings (a), (b), (c), etc., against the small paragraphs. The disorder may have been due either to block-printers, or to the lines having been taken from more than one book of Tārānātha.

P. 8, l. 10, 'became.' 16. With the Candras [desc. of 'Candra' (-gupta) (or Gupta-Candra) and Vindusāra] begins the summary of 'the written records of the Dynasties of the East (Prācī)', promised above by Sum. pa.; the preceding account of

the dynasties of the Middle Country is by way of introduction, since the Candras are Branch Mauryas. Was the personal name of Kauṭilya's patron 'Gupta' and his family name 'Candra'? The 'Candra' or 'Soma' Vaṃśa may have been one of the groups included in the Moriya or Mura republican confederacy of Pipphalivana [with whom many Sākya (Ikṣvāku) also became affiliated].

P. 8, l. 18, '*Vindusāra*.' 17. That is, some early Indian and Tibetan historians *did* count Vindusāra as the first and thus one of the Candra Kings of Prācī; there was good reason for that also, since, as Sum. pa. notes elsewhere (p. 91), Vindusāra ruled at the city of Gauḍa,— either as provincial governor (Kumāra) or as emperor with Gauḍa as his imperial capital. Pāṭaliputra was not of course the invariable capital of the Māgadha emperors. It seems that the prestige of Gauḍa as an imperial capital was associated with the continuance of a branch Mauryan family there as royal governors; it will be seen later on that one or two members of this branch (possibly more) also succeeded to the Imperial Mauryan throne at Pāṭaliputra, where after Vindusāra the capital was again transferred under Aśoka. The question of Vindusāra's relationship to Candragupta (cha. wo.) will be taken up later on.

P. 8, l. 18, '19'. 18. 17 are named in the 2 paras preceding; 1 more (Indra Candra) in the next; the other name is missing: probably it is Dr̥kṣa Candra, mentioned in other contexts, but dropped here owing to similarity with 'Br̥kṣa'-Candra. It is doubtful whether the Candra names mentioned in various

contexts, viz., Pāṇi, Bhīṣa, Bhīma, Haṃsa, Siddha, Siṃha, etc., are of different persons or are variants of names already given; thus Pāṇi may be the same as Phaṇi, Bhīṣa same as Bhīma, Haṃsa same as Bhaṃsa, Siddha as Siṃha,—just as Hari is also elsewhere given as Hāri, Nema as Nemi, Vigama as Vegama or Gobi as Gopī,—most of these variants being due to mispronunciation, copyists' errors, etc. Prakāśa Candra appears to have been another Candra king. Even if a few more Candra Kings are added by counting extras and by taking some of these names as really different, the general statement that the dynasty consisted of 19 well known Kings could well stand; as we shall see the Candras ruled from C. 232 B.C. to C. 581 A. D., or a period of 813 years; with only 19 Kings the average reign would be of 43 years, which must be incorrect, and at least double the number must have reigned; we shall also see later on that the dynasty was in abeyance (like the Cālukyās and Rāṣṭra-Kūṭas of a slightly later age) for two periods of c. 75 and c. 235 years, and was revived after each gap; so historical summaries would leave out the local petty chiefs of these two periods and take only the more prominent ruling kings of the periods of independent and progressive existence; hence these 19, or perhaps 25, recorded kings represent a period of $813 - (75 + 235) = c. 500$ years, or an average regnal period of c. 20 years,—which is quite probable.

P. 8, l. 20, '*Indra Candra.*' 19. 'Dvañ. po. Śla. wa.'; the name may also be trans. as 'Īśāna'-or 'Īśvara'-Candra. 'Indra' may very well be the

same as Indra-sena or Indra-pālita, one of the post-Aśokan Mauryan nominal emperors; it will be seen later on that Nemi Candra, *alias* Bṛhadratha, was also one of the Mauryan emperors, probably the last. The probability of Indra's identity with Indrasena or Indrapālita is supported by his being named before Jaya Candra father of Nemi Candra (=Bṛhadratha Maurya), and by his being noted as one of the famous earlier Candras.

P. 8, l. 24, '*them.*' 20. That is, after Vimala Candra. It is also possible to take 'them' as referring to '19 Candras', in which case Gopī and Lalita would make the number 21.

P. 8, l. 25, '*Tenth.*' 21. It is doubtful who this 10th Candra was. From the list given here 'Bṛkṣa' would be the 10th, but nothing is known about his claims to great celebrity. From the Tibetan sources generally, Śrī Candra, Dharma Candra, Vimala, Prakāśa, Gopī and Lalita, appear to be the most famous; of these the last 4 are at the end, so only one of the first 2 can be properly regarded as being referred to. As will be seen later on, 2 more names have to be put in before Śrī Candra,—Bhīṣa Candra and Candra Gupta II; in that case the 10th and the most famous Candra King becomes Dharma-Candra; he and his father (Śrī) were related to and contemporary of Kadphises II, and also of Kaniṣka, and their external relations reached the N.-W. frontiers of India and beyond (*vide infra*).

P. 8, l. 27, '*before.*' 22. I. e. long before, not immediately before; in between is a period of c. 175 years (581 to 754 A. D.). For details *vide infra*.

P. 9, l. 1, 'Kings.' 23. Modern historians usually count 19 Pāla rulers; here we have 14 in the main list, and 4 in a subsidiary list a little below, who 'intervened in the midst of the (14) Pāla Kings', i.e., were outside the direct or main line or were distant relatives or usurpers; that makes up 18 kings. A comparison with names as known to historians today, show the ff. 8 common names; Gopāla, Devapāla, Dharmapāla, Mahīpāla, Rāmapāla; apparently also Neya=Naya, Rāsa=Rāja (or Rājya), and Mahā Mahī (II). As we shall see later on, Tibetan tradition records 2 main branches of the Pālas, one ending with Gopāla's son (and prob. grandson who never ruled separately), and the other beginning with the grandson of 'Pa. sa. ha. na' (=Prasahana) who may have been a brother of Gopāla or his other son. The modern historians also recognise that from Vigraha I onwards it is this second line; the point as yet not settled is whether the succession order is Gopala-Deva-Rāsa (Rājya)-Dharma, or Gopāla-Dharma-Deva-Rāsa (Rājya); acc. to epigraphic evidence Rājya was heir to Deva, which agrees with the Tibetan order which however places Deva after Gopāla and Dharma later on. *Re* regnal period and date of Gopāla etc., vide *infra* and Chart.

P. 9, l. 2, 'Agnidatta.' 24. 'Mes. byin.'; 'me.' = fire=Agni, or=solar fire=Mitra; so the name is either Agni-datta or Mitra-datta, the latter evidently standing for Mithra-dāta or Mithridates the Great (c. 136 B.C.) of N.W. India; possibly Agnimitra is intended or both (Agni-mitra and Mitra-datta) have been mixed up in one. 'Mes. byin' may also be taken

to be a misprint for 'Mas. byin.', which=Mātṛdatta, an Indian form of Mithradāta.

P. 9, l. 2, 'Yakṣa'. 25. i.e. Buddha-Yakṣa and Gambhīra-Yakṣa, prob. also 'the Turuṣka Mahāsam-mata, the Mahā-Yakṣa', succ. of Kaniṣka (vide *infra*). 'Yakṣa' is obviously an Indianisation of 'Yuch-chi' (Greater as well as Lesser).

P. 9, l. 2, 'Aśva'. 26. This may also be translated as 'Haya' or 'Sāta' (Sāda), both meaning 'horse'; in the former case it would refer to Haya-Nāga, in the latter to the Sāta-vāhana (Sāta Kanni, Sāda-Kanni) dynasty; it is well-known now that this dynastic name has a proto-Australoid and early 'Dravidian' origin and has the meaning of 'Children or descendants of the (divine) Horse' (cf. 'Aśvinī-Kumarā or Haihaya, and Nāsatyā=Nā+Satiyā=Two Horse-Men).

P. 9, l. 3, 'Candra-Gupta'. 27. Apparently of the so-called Gupta dynasty.

P. 9, l. 3, 'Śrī-Harṣa'. 28. Of Kāśmīra, since Harṣa-varḍhana is named later on; Harṣa-varḍhana is perhaps intended by the 'Śrī-Harṣa' who burnt down a 'Majid' of the 'Kla-klo's (Muslims) at Mulatāna (p. 98, Dpag. bsam.); or Śrī-Harṣa (deva) of Kāmarūpa, a contemporary of Gopāla, may be referred to.

P. 9, l. 3, 'Śīla'. 29. The kings called Śīla or Śīlādityas, of Valabhī (= 'Mo. la. po. ?); the Śīlas, Dhāras and Dhruvas are also given in another list quoted from Bhaṭṭabhadra later on.

P. 9, l. 4, 'Gauḍa-Vardhana'. 30. 'Harṣa' and 'Goḍa' are joined only on account of the common

ending 'Vardhana'; the former is well recognised; the latter (Gauḍa-varḍhana-rāja or Rāja-varḍhana of Gauḍa) was a contemporary of Pāṇi Candra the next (or a close) successor of Nemi Candra (Bṛhadratha) of the Candra (or Later Mauryan) dynasty, being a sub-ruler or governor in Gauḍa, whence he repaired Buddhist temples in Baṅgāla (p. 89, Dpag. bsam.) His date is thus after 185 B.C., nearabout 150 B.C. . [His repairs to Buddhist buildings in Bengal was contemporaneous with similar repairs by other governors or churchmen in Magadha and the West; it seems all this became necessary after Puṣyamitra's campaign of destruction of these monasteric establishments]. The personal name of Rāja-varḍhana was Loka, he was son of one Yaśasvin and a scion of an old Gauḍa ruling family, and he was a Buddhist and one of the best rulers in the Prācī; he was born at Vardhamāna-nagara (prob. alt. form of Vardhana-nagara),—prob. mod. Bardhamān (or Burdwān), and his memory perhaps survives in Rāj-bāndh of that area. *Vide* MMK, 641-43.

P. 9, l. 4, "*Kaṇika*". 31. Kaṇiṣka has already been named; Kaṇika here may stand for 'Kaṇiṣka II'.

P. 9, l. 5, '*Sakas*'. 32. This, as we shall see later, refers to the successor of the great Kaṇiṣka, and is apparently the same as Huviṣka; the allusion in 'mahā-sammata of the Sakas' seems to be to a struggle between the Great and the Little Yueh-chi and between the several Śaka, Yueh-chi and Kushan groups, ending in the recognition of Huviṣka as the common sovereign of all the foreign invaders and settlers. He is also called 'the Mahā-Yakṣa' or the

Great Yueh-chi Emperor; i.e., he was suzerain of all the 3 main groups, Yakṣa, Saka and Turuṣka (the Tibetan synonym for Kushan). It is therefore more accurate to take the zenith of Kushan power and empire to be under Huviṣka than under Kaṇiṣka. *Vide* MMK, 610-612.

P. 9, l. 6, 'Yakṣa'. 33. Kadphises I and II; *Vide* MMK, 538-546.

P. 9, l. 6, 'Dhruva'. 34. 'Gyo. wa.' = rapid hill-stream = Dhāra, and 'Gyo. brtan.'

P. 9, l. 6, 'Viṣṇu'. 35. Viṣṇu-rāja of Mālava, or Viṣṇu King of Mālava, son of Vardhana (i.e. Vardhana family) of Sthāṇu (i.e. Sthāṇviśvara),—Viṣṇu-Vardhana,—also called Yaśodharman, Vikramāditya; his successor was Bhartr-Hari of Mālava, maternal uncle of Gopi Candra of Candra dynasty of Baṅgāla. *Vide* Dpag. bsam., pp. 105, 108. At Sthāṇviśvara, Kunta-Hari succeeded Viṣṇu, and became the founder of the dynasty of Prabhākara and Harṣa; *vide infra*.

P. 9, l. 7, 'Bharṣi'. 36. 'Siṃha Bharṣi' and 'Siṃha Bhāṣara' are to be distinguished: 'bharṣi' = greatly 'mahendra'; powerful, 'bhāṣara' = bright or sun-like, 'bhāṣkara' or 'vikrama'; they stand respectively for Mahendra-Siṃha and Vikrama-Siṃha, i.e., for Kumāra-Gupta I and Candra-Gupta II. 'Siṃha' is the dynastic name, which is proved by the use of 'Siṃha' legend and lion emblem in the so-called 'Gupta' coins and seals (even of the queens, being Licchavi princesses, like Kumāra-Devī and Dhruvā-Devī). In fact the 'Gupta' dynasty is in constitutional law only a Licchavi dynasty, i.e. a Siṃha dynasty with corresponding emblems, etc.,—and the Tibetan

and medieval Indian writers are more accurate in this respect than modern historians.

P. 9, l. 7, ‘*Pañca (ma).*’ 37. ‘The 5 Siṃhas’ would refer to the 5 Siṃha or Licchavi or ‘Gupta’ emperors,—*either* Candra-Gupta I, Samudra-Gupta, Rāma-Gupta, Candra-Gupta II and Kumāra-Gupta, —*or* Samudra, Rāma, Candra, Kumāra and Skanda, which latter is better, since C°-G°. I has no legal place in this dynasty, being merely Prince Consort to the heiress of the Licchavi Kingdom, Kumāra-Devī. If we prefer ‘The 5th Siṃha’, then apparently it refers to the position of ‘Siṃha Bharṣī’ or Kumāra-Gupta I in the dynasty as its 5th emperor. The Tāntrik Buddhist Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita of Nālanda, Lalitavajra, flourished during the 5th Siṃha Emperor of Magadha (Dpag. bsam., 104.).

P. 9, l. 8, ‘*Kāśa*’. 38. ‘Kāśa’ is the ‘Kāca’ of the coins. [In Eastern India ‘ś’ is still sometimes popularly pronounced as ‘c’]. ‘Kāśa’, as we shall see later, ruled in the Prācī or Baṅgāla, and was a Buddhist patron, specially at Nālanda; he seems also to have been called Saṃ-Kāśa. *Vide infra* and the Chart, for further details, his position in the ‘Gupta’ genealogy, and the explanation of his coinage characteristics.

P. 9, l. 8, ‘*Prakāśa*’. 39. Prakāśa’ is the Prakāśāditya’ of the coins. He should come immediately after Skanda-Gupta, according to the evidence of the coinage,—while ‘Kāśa’ (his father) should come after Samudra, but not immediately after,—and of course obviously before Skanda-Gupta. As we shall see presently, Kāśa (Kāca) fits in splendidly in the

4 years or so between the abdication of Kumāra-Gupta I in favour of his minor son Skanda, and the latter's coming of age for coronation; i.e. Kāca would issue his coins of an early Gupta type during his Regency or temporary Kingship, between Kumāra and Skanda. Prakāśa was also ruler over Prācī and Baṅgāla; he was not 'son' of Śakrāditya (Kumāra-Gupta Mahendrāditya) as Huien-Tsang states, but nephew, 'anuja' (successor and junior), as MMK. puts it; the numerous coins of Prakāśāditya indicates a fairly long rule, at least 20 years. Kumāra II was succeeded about 476 by Budha-Gupta (var. lec. Buddha-Gupta, prob.=Tathāgata-Gupta, though Huien-Tsang makes the two separate); Budha-Gupta's 'āditya'-title was 'Prakāśāditya', and Prakāśāditya's coins bear the King's initial 'U', which acc. to MMK. was the 'viśruta' or popular name of the successor of Kumāra II; 'U' probably stands for 'Udayāditya' = 'Prakāśāditya',—or for 'Upaguptā', if we are to look for a predecessor to Princess Upagupta of the Gupta family whom Īśāna-Varman Maukhari married early in 6th century, c. 530. By coinage etc., Budhagupta is traceable in 477 at Benares, in 483 in N. Bengal, in 484 and 493 in Malwa; so that his reign may be dated 476-495 (20 years). The identity stands thus:—Prakāśa=Prakāśāditya='U' = 'Udayāditya' or 'Upagupta'—Budha-Gupta or Buddha-Gupta or Tathāgata-gupta; this occupies a position shortly after Kāca (Kāśa) and Skanda (i.e. after Kumāra II) and immediately before Bhānu-Gupta. (*Vide* Jayaswal: Imp. II. 38-39, etc.).

P. 9, l. 9, '*thus called*'. 40. 'Sākya. stobs.

chen.'; 'Sākya'=powerful (Tibetans often use it in this sense); 'Bharśi' also=powerful; so Simha Bharśi may be intended here; 'stob. chen'. lit.=mahā-bala, but may equally stand for Mahāsena or Mahendra=Kumāra; 'Candra-garbha-paripṛcchā' puts the name of Kumāra as 'Mahendra-sena', a combination of Mahā-sena, Sākya and 'Stobs. chen.'; 'Sākya' may equally well be taken to be either a slip or an alternative for 'Sakra' i.e. Śakrāditya, the title used by Kumāra-Gupta; Sakra=Mahendra. Cf. the coin names of Kumāra,—Mahendra Simha, Śakrāditya, Mahendrāditya, etc. . He was the (elder) brother of King Kāśa, and he took possession of all the countries between Haridvāra and Kāśmīra (Dpag. bsam., 105); this probably refers to the results of Kumāra-Gupta's wars with the Hūnas; these wars were thus fought between the Ganges and the Beas, and the sources of the Ganges were the Gupta boundary at the close of C°-G°. II's and the beginning of K°-G°. I's reigns.

Miscellaneous Articles

THE BIJĀPUR-COURT LETTERS

By K. K. BASU

1. *Farman of Emperor Jahangir to 'Ādil Shāh (Ibrāhīm 'Ādil II)*¹

To 'Ādil Khān², the farzand (son) and disciple, the excellent and dignified,**** of noble descent, benevolent and polite, a well-wishing and noble chief,**** recipient of special and excessive favours (of the Emperor)*****

Your petition expressing sincerity and fidelity has been received at the august court on the 26th of Murdād³ of the Illāhi year⁴ and read by the Emperor, the decorator of the world.

****Mubāriz ud din Muhabat Khān, the commander-in-chief (of the Mughal forces) has on his return to this court, referred to your devotion and fidelity. His Majesty was aware of your good-will and sincere devotion before this incident and Muhabat's report has confirmed his opinion...If God wills it, you shall be further favoured with royal benefactions.

¹ From Guldestah (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript).

² The author of *Busātin us Salātin* writes (p. 342) that the Mughal Emperors addressed the Deccani Sultans as "Khāns" and that the Bijāpur Sultan was addressed by the Mughals as "Sultan" from 1058 H (1648 A.D.).

³ The Persian month of summer extending from July 19 to August 17.

⁴ Of Akbar.

It is necessary that you should accommodate yourself to the old course of action and manifest greater zeal in the performance of feudal duties. Doubt not my sympathy and good-will, and let me know the incidents and affairs of your court.

In reply to the allegation that your petitions receive scant attention and that scarcely any farman is issued in acknowledgment of your applications, I can assure you that you can hardly conceive the favour that I entertain for you. Do not be sick at heart!

Try to secure, by means of upright conduct, the favours of Shāh¹ (Parwez?) the noble eldest prince, the apple of the eye of fortune and prosperity,** the object of divine favours,** the pearl in the crown of exalted sovereignty,** and the precious stone in the ring of the Emperor*****.

Praise be to God! The unfortunate wretch will be served out for his misdeeds and put to a sea of troubles. If God wills it he might die in his youth.²

Remember, you possess excessive imperial favours.

2. *Letter of Emperor Shāh Jahān to Mubammad 'Adil Shāh.*³

Praise and glory be to God who has mercifully conferred the sovereignty on me.

It has become necessary that the Khutba should be read and coins struck in my name in every part of the globe and especially in countries like

¹ The MS. has a gap here. We have supplied the omission.

² The reference is to the rebellious Prince Shāh Jahan.

³ From *Busātin us Sālātin*, p. 302.

Bijapur, Golconda and Bhagnagar. Like the 'hud-hud' you and the other rulers should sing in praise of me and having put the chain of obedience round your neck should read the *Khutba* and strike coins in my name. On the contrary, the falcon of the forest will, by its powerful beak, tear out your flesh inside the skin***. Take care and do not be negligent. Makramat Khān, the *Jubdatu-l-onrāb*, one of the greatest nobles of the court is being sent to you (in this connection). Do what you think best !

3. *Letter from Muhammad 'Adil Shāh to Emperor Shāh Jahan*¹

Praise be to God who punishes the boastful !*****

Your letter composed by one of the inexperienced *dabirs* of the court to hand and its contents noted.

In reply (to your letter) it may be urged that the *hudhud* has been conferred with the royal diadem from time immemorial. It is, therefore, beyond comprehension how Sulaiman the Great, the lord of the Muslims, could have conferred dignity on the falcon. What power does the falcon possess in its talons ? Can it ever dare to destroy the old family and be oppressive ? Even if the hare remains asleep, if occasion demands, it can ensnare the falcon and put it to death. Surely on account of its wicked nature and its greed for the flesh of the hare, that the falcon can be ensnared ! (under the circumstances), you should not have expressed it in the letter (that you sent to me.)

¹ Ibid., p. 303.

I agree to send the tribute as usual. Fraternity and amity is always to be desired ! One who obeys God is always obeyed by others !

4. *Letter of Aurangzeb to Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh*¹

To Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, the prosperous,** the object of imperial compassion,** the chief of the fortunate magnates, the model of the blooming well-wishers of the exalted court***

Be it known that your letter and tribute sent through Mir Ghāzi and Julālā have been received. The contents of the letter displaying your fidelity to the court and the communication made by your agents on the same subject have taken the fancy of the Emperor.****

It is believed that you would regard divine help as the mainspring of worldly well-being and that you would keep up your old line of conduct and consider it to be the spring-head of all your welfare.

(Further) this is to inform you that*** the zamindars of Karnatak have sought the protection of my court by offering to embrace Islam and have sent agents with presents in the shape of elephants and other commodities. In view of the fact that every Muslim should make his best exertions for promoting the interests of Islam, I have accepted their petition. It is for this reason that the application that you had sent (in connection with the afore-said Zamindars) still remains unattended. How strange ! How could you*** make such an unique

¹ From Guldastah.

proposal !

(Be it known that) under the orders of the Emperor** one of the officers of the heaven exalted court will be proceeding to Karnatak to find out how far the local Zamindars are sincere in their purpose.

It is hoped that you should not fall out but remain friendly and amicable***. Mir Ghāzi, your agent has been ordered to return to your court and he will be carrying a special robe of honour that has been conferred on you as a token of royal favour. Look upon the conferment of imperial kindness as an accretion to your own dignity and the payment of homage as a means of welfare in the next world !

5. *Letter of 'Ādil Shāh to Emperor Shāh Jahan*¹

May God bestow favour on you (who is the finest tree in the garden of bravery and fortune, the best fruit in the orchard of splendour and greatness)***.

In reply to the enquiry made I have the honour to state that this suppliant of the royal court (meaning himself) who is bestowed with imperial benefactions, thinking that the vain and rebellious infidels should be reprimanded pulled together with the Nawab** who was engaged in the interests of the Muslims in exterminating the rebellious infidels and enforcing order in their countries**.²

In the interest of our old fraternal relations I set out to the frontiers of Karnatak in relief of

¹ Guldastah. The MS. is here wanting: there is no mention of the name of the writer or the addressee.

² Nawab Mustafa Khan sent to Karnatic in 1057 H. (1647 A.D.) (Busatin us Salatin, p. 319).

Mustafā Khān and sent the said general against the infidels for their chastisement. By the help of the ever-lasting good fortune of your Majesty, in dignity like Alexander, and of the auspicious and brave prince this attendant of the royal court (meaning himself) became successful in a short time in seizing the forts (of the infidels) and smiting the rebels. Then, having delegated the affairs of the frontiers to Mustafā Khān I made my return to the capital. It is believed that the Khān will, in conformity to the principles of fidelity discharge his duties, and receive, in return, imperial favours.

It is hoped that you will entertain a liking for me, particularly at this auspicious moment when our relations have been further cemented by a bond of friendship. It is expected that you will be pleased to write me letters about your welfare. May your dignity and fortune remain with you for ever !

It is well-known that the people attached to my court have been constantly graced with your Majesty's benefactions. May I expect that such favours will continue in future ?

In compliance with your exalted mandate I have caused public entertainments and festivities to be held in commemoration of the conferment of the title of "Shah-i-Bulund Iqbal" on the eldest Prince, (Dara)****

A high mandate of the prince (Dara)** and a letter of the Diwan of the imperial court** on the subject have also been received and properly complied with.***

5. *Letter of a Qutb Shāhi noble to Khawās Khān Bijāpuri* (a Bijāpuri noble)

May God ever make you**** exalted and glorious and may He keep you safe from all evils and favour you with compassion !

It is a matter of pity that the Sultan (Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh) whose place of rest is in Paradise, May God illuminate his sepulchre, has left this world of accidents for the world of peace and repose.****¹ No words can fully express our sense of the loss. But an incident like this is only too common in this world of trouble and annoyance : we should therefore, hold patience and tender our thanks to God !

Secondly, praise be to the Almighty that in the meantime you have in agreement with the high nobles of the court placed the fortunate and auspicious prince, (Alī 'Ādil II), on the throne.² It is a matter of supreme pleasure that by the Grace of God all gloom and joylessness (occasioned by the demise of the late king) have made room for gaiety and joyousness (as a result of the Prince's accession).

It is hoped that the cordial relation that existed between the two royal houses, (viz., the Qutb Shāhis and the 'Ādil Shāhis) during the regime of late Sultan Muhammad 'Ādil should continue under the new sovereign 'Alī 'Ādil II. The pact between the two families should remain as strong as the Alexandrian

¹ Acc. to Busatin us Salatin (the Sultan's death occurred on 28th Muharram, 1066 H.

² 'Alī 'Ādil II, aged nineteen years, was placed on the throne on Tuesday, 26th Muharram, 1067 H. (Busātin us Salātin, p. 363).

wall** and there should be a free exchange of ideas and plenipotentiaries between them.

As usual, the noble Sa'īd Khān a high officer of (the Qutb Shāhi) court is being sent to the Bijāpur court with presents.***

BRAHMANICAL COUNTER-REVOLUTION

By B. N. DATTA

With the murder of Brihadratha by the Brahman Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of the Maurayan forces in 184 B. C. and the usurpation of the throne by him, a wave of brahmanical reaction lashed its fury over the Indian society. With the usurpation of the throne by Pushyamitra Sunga, for the first time, a Brahman sat on a throne and the brahmanas were elevated as a ruling Varna. History says that in commemoration of this event he performed an Asvamedha sacrifice, apparently to revive the Vedic rites. Further the Buddhist author of *Manjusri mulakalpa* says that he destroyed monasteries with relics, and killed monks of good conduct¹.

It has been a matter of historical dispute whether the rise of Pushyamitra was due to brahmanical reaction.² There cannot be any doubt that brahmanical reaction to the Sudra Buddhist regime came to a head under the Sunga general when the Hellenistic King of Balkh, Menander, invaded and advanced as far as Saket (modern Oudh). At that psychological moment, the blow fell on the head of the des-

¹ Jayaswal—"An Imperial History of India," p. 18.

² Vide H. C. Rai Chaudhuri "Political History of Ancient India"; Sastri—J. A. S. B. 1910, p 259; Jayaswal, "Manu and Jagnavalkya," p. 60.

endant of Asoka who true to the injunction of his ancestor would conquer enemy by love.

The brahmanical reaction under the leadership of the Sunga general has been called as *orthodox counter-revolution* by Jayaswal¹. The embodiment of this counter-revolution is the *Manava-dharma sastra*, popularly known as the Laws of Manu (Manu Smriti). Jayaswal comes to the conclusion that internal evidences of this book show that it as such was written at the time of Pushyamitra, and an attempt has been made even to defend his regicide act.² It was written by one Sumati Bhargava as said in Narada Smriti³ that the original text has been shortened to its present size by him and perhaps the reactionary new laws were superimposed on the ancient Manu Smriti. This accounts for the glaring contradictions in the injunctions of the book!

Any one who reads carefully the matters contained in Manavadharmasastra will clearly discern that it undid the works of Arthasastra and the Mauryan legislations. The class-hatred that breathe in the pages of this book against the Sudras and the heterodox sects⁴ are too glaring to remain unnoticed. Jayaswal admits that the "Manava code thus suffers from its political, social and sacerdotal prejudices" and this seems to have been the basis of the high authority which it soon acquired. This rapidity in

¹ Jayaswal, "Manu and Jagnavalkya," pp. 40-41.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid; also Jolly, p. 21.

⁴ Buddhists are called "Pasanndas" (Bk. II, Ch. 36, 144). Against the Sakyas (Buddhists) and Ajivikas vide Bk. III, Ch. XX, 199.

its acceptance is also due to probable royal recognition...very probably the Manava dharma code became the approved code of the Sungan regime.¹"

In examining the Manava-dharma Sastra or the Manu Smriti we find that it enjoins in which situation or what sort of king can be destroyed (7, 27, 28, 111). It was perhaps a defence of regicide act of Pushyamitra! Again, this book is through and through against the Sudras, viz., it prohibits the Brahmans to dwell in the kingdom of a Sudra (4.61), a Sudra cannot be a Judge (8.20) which is a direct contravention to Mauryan law; that kingdom where the Sudras dwell in large numbers are of atheistic tendency and devoid of the *dwijas*, succumbs to famine and various diseases and quickly gets destroyed (8.22). This was an anathema against a Sudra state like that of the Mauryas. In this book the Brahmans were at first admitted to marry Sudra women (3.12-13), but in the later passages the rule was rescinded (3.14-19). It says, "There is no record in history and traditions of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas taking Sudra wives even in time of stress (3-14)!" This is giving the lie to previous history and contradicting Arthasastra which mentions a *Varna* (mixed) marriage (Bk. III, Ch. VII, 164). Thus the contradiction in Manava code is apparent. Again this book says, "the children of a slave woman become the property of her master" (9.55), because it argues that like the offsprings of cattle and horses, the children of a slave woman become the property of her proprietor. This is

¹ Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

again rescinding the law of Arthasastra that the son of a slave is an "Arya". Then Asoka's promulgation of equality in law and punishment is revoked as we find injunction in Manava Code that if a man of a higher class ill-treats a man of a lower class he will get lesser punishment than when *vice versa* takes place (8.267, 277; 366-376). Thus the old brahmanical standard of wer-geld is revived. But the animosity and fanaticism of the Manava Code against the Sudra reached its climax when it says (8.270), "A once-born man (a Sudra) who insults a twice-born man with gross invective shall have his tongue cut out; for he is of low origin"¹. On the contrary, the Arthasastra says, "The King shall dismiss a priest who, when ordered, refuses to teach the Vedas to an outcaste person or to officiate in a sacrificial performance (apparently) undertaken by an outcaste (ayājya) person. (Bk. I. Ch. X, 16.) This injunction of Arthasastra sets at naught the injunctions of the Dharmasastra that the Sudras and the outcastes should not be taught the Vedas and should not be allowed in the sacrifice! Again, "If he mentions the names and castes (jati) of the twice-born with contumely, an iron nail ten fingers long, shall be thrust into his mouth" (8.271). Further, "If he arrogantly teaches Brahmans their duty the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears" (8.272). Again Manava Code says "with whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest castes, even that

¹ 'The Laws of Manu'—translated by Bühler.

limb shall be cut off; that is the teaching of Manu" (8.279). Can class legislation go further?

Thus all the legislation of the Sudra state has been set at naught by the Manava Dharma Code. Again, the Manava Code deprived the Sudra of all his properties: "A Brahman can quickly confiscate the wealth of a dasa-Sudra, because he has got nothing of his own" (8.417). Also "a slave (dasa) cannot keep any wealth that will belong to his master" (8.416). But this is again rescinding the law of Arthasastra that a slave can have money (Bk. III, Ch. XIII, 182). As regards property, it says "The property of a slave shall pass into the hands of his kinsman; in the absence of any kinsmen, his master shall take it" (Ibid 183). In this way, a slave again gets the status of a chattel. In these legislations we get the proof of a morbid mentality to establish the superiority of the Brahman class. Thus we read, "If a king be in a dying condition on account of lack of money, yet he shall not take tax from a Brahman who is versed in the Vedas" (7.133). Here again a contravention of Asoka's law. Again, this code says that the "Dasa, a man who is obnoxious or unpleasant to the people, Dasyu, a man who performs forbidden work, low castes (Jati) like the Chandalas cannot be taken as witness" (8.66). But Arthasastra enjoins a Sudra to be taken as a witness (Bk. III Ch. XI, 174)¹. Thus we see that class legislation is extended in the matter of taking an oath in the court! Further, trial by ordeal is the process by which a Sudra is to be found

¹ Compare the system of not taking the plebs and the serfs as witnesses in ancient and mediaeval Europe.

out whether he is telling the truth on oath (8.144) while Kautilya enjoins to take down deposition and to submit it to investigation. In the matter of practical economics class differences were also established, thus "the creditor shall take from the Brahman debtor interest 2 panas per hundred, from the Kshatriyas 3 panas per hundred, from the Vaishyas 4 panas per hundred, and from the Sudras five panas per hundred" (8.142). But Kautilya says "An interest of a pana and a quarter per month per cent is just" and he does not make any Varna differentiation in the matter of charging interest (Bk III, Ch. XI, 173).

Thus the *Vyavahâra samatâ* (equality in law) of Asoka has been completely destroyed in the Manava Code. Finally, the immunity of the Brahman from capital punishment was re-established, as it says "Let him never slay a Brahman, though he has committed all (possible) crimes; let him banish such (offender), leaving all his property (to him) and (his body) unhurt" (8.380). Again, "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahman; a king, therefore, must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brahmana" (8.381). On the other hand, the final fate of a Sudra is thus described, "A Sudra in spite of his being set free by his master does not get freedom. Slavery (work of a Dasa) is natural with him, for this reason who can set him free from it." (8.412-414).¹ Thus it was ordained by the Brahmanical imperial code that a Sudra should

¹ Buhler's translation.

remain accursed all his life. It was a fanatical piece of class-legislation and took away all the privileges of the Sudra given to him by Arthasastra and by Asokan legislations!

Again, as everywhere in a reactionary class state, the questions of birth and heredity have been brought into prominence. Thus Manava Code says¹ "Behaviour unworthy of an Aryan, harshness, cruelty, and habitual neglect of the prescribed duties, betray in this world a man of impure origin" (Ch. X 58). Again it says "In all castes (Varnas) those (children) only which are begotten in the direct order on wedded wives, equal (in caste and married as) virgins, are to be considered as belonging to the same caste (as their fathers) (10.5)."¹ Thus, children born of legal wedlock by the husband and wife of the same class, will get their father's status. Here the question of legality of marriage and marriage within the class are emphasised. Again it says, "sons, begotten by twice-born-men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers (10.6). Here, marriage outside the Varna is allowed, but stigma is attached to the offspring due to the lower Varna of the mother. This injunction is further explained in the following sentence, "Children of a Brahmana by (women of) the three (lower) castes, of a Kshatriya by (wives of) the two (lower) castes, and of a Vaishya by (a wife of) the one caste (between him) are all six called *base*

¹ Buhler's translation—pp. 319-321.

born (apasada) (10.10).¹ This passage contradicts the above-mentioned injunction by which the sons of a man marrying in the class next to that of his, is taken in the father's class. In the latter passage, these offsprings are called "base born". The following passage again says, "Those sons of the twice-born begotten on wives of the next lower castes, who have been enumerated in due order, they call by the name *Anantaras* (belonging to the next lower caste) on account of the blemish (inherent) in their mothers." Here we see the injunction is that, the offsprings of the mother coming from a class lower than that of the father will not get the class of his father. This is in contradiction to the injunction No. 6. Thus, another contradiction in Manava Dharma Sastra is apparent. But it is clear that Manava Code finally upholds the injunction No. 5 of this chapter. It emphasises legal marriage within the *varna*.

Then the Manava Code speaks of the "mixed varnas". It says "By intermixture of the classes, by their marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by their omission of prescribed duties, impure classes have been formed (10.24);"² thus the offsprings of the parents coming from different classes are called by Manu as "mixed Varnas" popularly known as "mixed castes". Thus it is clear that marriage outside the Varna is not countenanced in the Manava Code, in spite of the contradictory state-

¹ Buhler's translation—pp. 403-404.

² Jones' translation of "The Ordinances of Manu" p. 343.

ments contained in it². And this is in consonance with the Brahmanical counter-revolution which wanted to establish the society on *Varnâsram dharma* i.e. hierarchy of hereditary classes.

Again, the case of heredity is emphasised by saying that the blood of the upper Varnas is by nature superior to that of the lower Varnas: "Should the tribe sprung from a Brahman, by a Sudra woman, produce a succession of children by the marriages of its women with other Brahmans, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation" (10.64). Thus, it is ordained that a woman of mixed descent but having a Brahman father if be married to a Brahman, and the daughter of that union if again be married to a Brahman, and if this Brahman connection be continued for seventh generation, then this last generation becomes Brahman. Because the code says "Good seed is always praised" (10.72). Further it says this superiority is extended to all the upper castes as in the next sentence it says thus: "As the son of a Sudra may thus attain the rank of a Brahman, and the son of a Brahman may sink to a level with Sudras, even so must it be with him who springs from a Chatriya, even so with him, who was born of a Vaisya" (10.65). Here the superiority of the blood of the upper classes over that of the lower one is asserted. Thus, it is manifest that this injunction says, more a family of mixed origin gets the blood of the upper Varna in its veins, more it

² The contradictions in Manava Code is apparently due to the two layers of writings it contained. The oldest is the "Manu Smṛiti", the latter is the Manava Code of Sumati Bhargava inspired by the Brahmanical reaction.

gets elevated to the higher status; and more it gets the blood of the lower varna, more it gets degraded.

Finally, the question of heredity is clearly emphasised in the following sentence: Who is superior amongst children born of a Brahman father but begotten on an anarya-mother and those who are born of an anarya-father by a brahman woman? The answer is that the son of a brahman if be endowed with cooking (paka) and sacrificial (Jagna) qualities will be regarded as superior, but the son of an anarya by a Brahman woman is naturally inferior (10.66). This means, if the son of a Brahman by a Sudra woman be accepted in his father's society he will be regarded as superior to that man who has a Brahman mother but an anarya father.

In this matter we clearly see that the son may take the class of his father. Here the heredity from the father's side is considered important.¹

Further, we see in the Manava Code that the superiority of the brahmanical claims has been extended in political fields also. We read thus: "A king even in extreme danger shall not arouse the anger of a Brahman, because a Brahman when angry can destroy the kingdom at once...whether unlearned or learned a Brahman is like a *Mahadevata*—Great God" (9.313-317). Here we hear the echoes of the claims made in the Brahmajaya hymns and in the Brahmanas. Then it lays down the injunction of aristocratic brahmanical bureaucracy when it says

¹ Compare the cases of the offspring of marriages of different classes in the Middle Ages of Europe with that of Manu.

that the King should have seven or eight ministers chosen from hereditary official families, well-versed in the Vedic Sastras, brave and of good families and tried men (7. 58). Manava Code certainly confines the posts amongst the dwijas when it gives injunctions to appoint men "well-versed in the Vedic Sastras"! But Arthasastra did not make any Varna distinction in this matter by demanding such qualification. It says "Natives, born of high family, well-trained in arts, these are the qualifications of a ministerial (*amātya sampat*) officer" (Bk. I, Ch. VIII, 14; Ibid. Ch. IX, 15). Kautilya agrees with the son of Bahūdanti who lays down amongst other qualifications of an appointee "to be born of high family and possessed of wisdom." (Bk. I, Ch. VIII, 14). Finally the extreme claim in political field is made when the code says "The post of a commander-in-chief, kingdom, awarding punishment, leadership and rule over all men—these are fit to be received by those who are well-versed in the Vedas (12.99-100)!" It clearly says that men well-versed in the Vedas can fill up these posts only. These claims have never been made in any of the Smritis before! Probably it tries to cover up the usurpation of the Brahman Pushyāmītra as hinted by Jayaswal.

Again, we get the theory of "Divine rights of the King" (778) in this Code. The idea of Man-god we first meet in Manava Code. This again, gives us the clue that India has entered the feudalistic development of the society.

Thus with the rise of the Brahmans to political power, the *Varnas* began to take new positions.

The classes began to change their places.

Another Dharmasastra that probably was written during the period of Brahmanical ascendancy was Vasistha Smṛiti. Kane gives the date to be "first century of the Christian era."¹ But we think that this Smṛiti though containing much views that are ancient and agrees with Apastamba, yet the assertion of Brahmanical superiority that is expressed in it makes us take it to be written at the time when the Brahmans were the ruling class. It seems that it was written at a place where the old practice of sacrificing of a cow for the reception of a guest was still in vogue though cow was being replaced by a goat (Ch. III) as it says "one may cook a full-grown ox or a full-grown he-goat for a Brahman or a Kshatriya guest."² Thus the place can be located as North India.

Vasistha enjoins that to serve the three superior classes is the occupation of a Sudra. In this matter he is not much different from Manu.³ Then he says that "If a twice-born person dies with the food of a Sudra in his stomach he will become a village pig in the next birth or be born in (that Sudra's) family"⁴ (Ch. III). Then he enjoins the learned "not to learn a language spoken by the Mlechhas" (Ch. III)⁵. Again it says, "some say that a Sudra is a corpse; therefore the Veda must not be recited near a Sudra" (Ch. XV).⁶ As regards the punishment of the men of non-Brahman class for knowing a Brah-

¹ Kane, p. 58.

²⁻⁶ "Vasistha Samhita" translated by M. N. Dutt, pp. 764, 755, 771, 772, 802, 809.

man woman it ordains thus "If a Sudra knows a Brahmana woman (the king) shall cause the Sudra to be packed up in Virana grass and thrown into a fire. If a Vaishya knows a Brahman woman (the king) shall cause the Vaishya to be tied up with Lohita grass and he shall throw him into a fire. If a Kshtriya knows a Brahman woman (the king) shall cause the kshatriya to be tied up with blades of Sara grass and shall throw him into a fire" (Ch. XIX).¹ This is the terrible class-justice that is ordained for the non-Brahmans in Vasistha's Smriti. Just like other brahmanical law books it keeps up the gradation of punishment according to the class of the offender (Ch. XIX).²

Thus in some point Vasistha Smriti is harsher than the other law books i.e. his ordinance against the Kshatriya culprit is severer than ever expressed by other law givers. The Brahmanical class-arrogance has permeated this Smriti through and through and the Brahman has been held up very high. The arrogance of the priest-hood is to be manifest in the following injunction: "By robbing a Brahmana one shall run with flying hair to the king (declaring) 'I am a thief, Sir, punish me.' The king shall then give him a weapon made of udumbara wood; with that weapon he shall kill himself. It is said in the Vedas that he becomes pure after death" (Ch. XVIII).³ It is not possible to have that injunction unless it can be backed by a king of the same class. In Manu and

¹ "Vasistha Samhita" translated by M. N. Dutt, pp. 764, 755, 771, 772, 802, 809.

² "Vasistha Samhita" translated by M. N. Dutt, pp. 810.

³ Vasistha Samhita—op. cit. p. 808.

Vasistha we find the superiority and divinity of the Brahman class over others being expressed all through. And these claims and assertions became idle and empty boastings unless these be backed by the State. For this reason, it can be said that these two treatises of Brahmanical class-legislation were written at the time of the Brahmans' rule.

Leaving this Dharmasastra which according to Jayaswal was an intermediary law book and never got the status of an authoritative Code¹ we turn to Jagnavalkya.

One strange thing to be noted in connection with this period is the custom that is disclosed in the discussion of Patanjali in his Mahabhasya commentary (to Panini's grammar) regarding the status of those who after eating in the plates of the upper classes, the utensils do not lose their purity. Patanjali is accepted as a contemporary of Pushyamitra as he mentioned the horse-sacrifice of the last-named king (Mahabhasya III, 2.123). Panini in his grammar has given an aphorism "*Sudranam anirabasitanam*" (2.4.10) which means that those Sudras that are not excluded. While explaining the aphorism, Patanjali says those who are not excluded from Aryavarta are "*anirabasitanam*", also he gives a boundary of the same. But he says others (Sakas, Javanas) dwell within it. Hence the sense would be *Aryanibasat anirabasitanam* i.e. those who are not excluded from the political colony of the Aryas. And what is an *Aryanibas* i.e. where the Aryas dwell?

¹ Jagnavalkya—op. cit. p. 66.

They dwell in grama (village), Ghosa (the place of the cowherds), Nagara (city), Sambaba (where the traders dwell) &c. But within these big colonies the Chandalas and the Doms dwell as well¹. And the latter are excluded from Aryavarta. Hence he opines, the meaning would be that those who are not excluded from the Jagnas (sacrifices) are to be regarded as *anirabasitanam*. But the *Rajakas* (washermen), *Tantubai* (weavers) are *anirabasitanam*. Hence the meaning would be that the plates after whose eating are kept after cleansing are *anirabasitanam* and after whose eating the plates have to be thrown away in these preconsidered to be permanently defiled are *Nirubasita*.

Here, we get the idea that all who dwell in the Arya settlements must be Aryas. Therefore the Sudras are Aryas, and they are not impure, because the upper Varnas will not throw away the plates after their eating. Only some whose descendants are now regarded as untouchables are not regarded as Aryas. Hence it follows that the Sudras though not *dwijas* (twice-born) yet are Aryas. And this is in consonance with Kautilya. Also Manu nowhere said that the Sudras are *Anaryas*. Further he says, the Sakas and the Javanas are also Sudras, and he places them above the Doms. Hence they are *anirabasita* i.e. after they have eaten in the plates of the upper Varnas these can be kept after cleansing! And these concessions are given by Patanjali when Manu was thundering against the Sudras and the

¹ According to the Smritis they dwell in the outskirts of the cities.

Yavanas. This discussion of Patanjali betrays the fact that some castes like washermen were regarded as clean (Sat) Sudras, while later on their status became degraded.¹ Further the idea that the non-Hindus like the Yavanas are "anirabasita" is unthinkable to-day! These support the view that the Varnas and their sub-divisions had different status in different epochs.

¹ Yama Samhita calls them as degraded Varna (54).

Reviews and Notices of Books

PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA. By Rati Lal Mehta.
Being No. 14 of the Studies in Indian History of
the Indian Historical Research Institute St.
Xavier's College, Bombay. 10"×7" pp. XVIII,
461, Bombay, Examiner Press, 1939, with a
foreword by H. Heras, S. J.

The present treatise is the revised, improved and enlarged form of a thesis which the author presented to the University of Bombay for the M. A. Degree in 1935. The object of the book is a comprehensive study of political, social, administrative, economic, cultural and geographical conditions of ancient India during the Pre-Buddhistic period. As the title might seem to indicate, the book would look like the product of the study of all available materials with regard to the period under review, but in fact, the author has confined himself mainly, if not exclusively, to a study of the Jātakas or Buddhist birth-stories to derive his materials. Holding the view as he does that the Jātakas are in the nature of popular tales or folklore and embodied tradition of long standing, he finds them to be a more realistic and unembellished picture of Indian life than we can see in any other form of contemporary literature. The studies so far made of this mine of folklore have been all onesided, and hence the need for a closer and more comprehensive work based thereon.

In the first few chapters, the author sketches the political history of ancient India before the commonly known historical period, namely 600 B.C. Then he passes on to a sketch of the political history during the Mahājanapada period; and after that to a study of the central administrative machinery in some detail. After dealing with them and administration of justice and military organisation, he deals with fiscal administration, their production, distribution and exchange, the last of which undoubtedly is an attempt to approach the problem from the point of view of political economy. Then the author comes to the sociological condition proper, treating of social structure, education, position of women, religion and philosophy and then a chapter on the geography of the Jātakas.

As the above outline indicates, the book is a valuable and comprehensive commentary on the materials in the Jātakas and will be helpful to all students of the subject particularly to those who would study it and check up the information in the light of other sources for which the author's footnotes are also valuable. And it is exactly here that both the merit and shortcoming of the book come into view. The author himself puts it in his preface that he had considerable doubts in his mind regarding the appropriateness of the title he chose for his subject, namely Pre-Buddhist India, as the work being based entirely on the Jātakas, he was treading on uncertain grounds. But there is something more. It is not only the uncertainty of the Jātaka stories that is to be kept in view, but also the very fact that they

are folklore and hence in many instances contain a mixture of facts and fancies which can never be adequately understood without reference to other more formal sources. Folklore may have its value for getting a realistic picture of popular life, but it has also got its shortcoming, and here in particular, as these stories being of a religious character are mainly didactic in nature and hence certain pictures drawn therein may be either overdrawn or underdrawn as the occasion or the nature of the lesson to be taught demanded. Moreover, it is admitted that these tales range over a long period roughly between 600 B. C. to 500 A. D. and although the author has chiefly relied upon the *Atitvatthu* or past stories which are generally regarded as more valuable from the historian's point of view, it is difficult to be positive that they all refer necessarily to a period anterior to the birth or age of Lord Buddha, a view propounded by Dr. Winternitz. Nor can one be certain that what passed for an *Atitvatthu* was necessarily a story of the long past. It might not be a story of the past at all, the author's whim regulating its nomenclature or it might refer to an age when other stories composed still retained their name of *Paccuppannavatthu* or present stories. In view of the uncertainties mentioned above, it appears to me that the author's first thought to name the work '*Ancient India in the Jātakas*' was a more appropriate one than the one he subsequently chose in spite of the essential conservatism of Indian mind which we all know and to which the author has made reference.

But after all that has been said above is said, it must be admitted that the book is a helpful contribution to the study of Ancient Indian social and political history, particularly of the so-called pre-historic period between the Vedic and historical ages. The author deals with his material with a fine critical acumen, and although in a book of this range, there will always be room for more than one opinion in regard to certain details such as the question of priority between the Jātaka form and Sanskrit redaction of the epics, and the true nature of Kingship, the author seems to have accomplished his task with conspicuous success. The book also contains a map of pre-Buddhist India, a geographical lexicon which is handy for useful reference regarding the names of places occurring in the Jātakas, with short descriptive accounts, and an index arranged according to the Sanskrit alphabet.

S. C. Misra.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GUJRAT By
Hasmukh D. Sankalia, Esq, M. A., L. L. B.,
Ph. D. (London). Published by the Natwarlal
& Co., 361 Hornby Road, Fort Bombay,
1941. 7¼"×9¾" Pages 268 and Appendix
and Index 109, Price Rs. 15/.

Students of Archaeology will welcome this volume embodying painstaking researches on the archaeological material of Gujrat and Kathiawar. The book is carefully written and reliable. The general excellence of the book, however, suffers from the following defects.

The most important chapters of the volume are those dealing with Architecture and Iconography. Those dealing with the former seem to be mostly based on the works of Burgess and Cousens and do not contain any personal observation of the author, which, of course is partly understandable as the book was written in England. There is practically no discussion on the architectonic affinities of the Gujrat temples, their connection with the neighbouring zones, e. g. Malwa, Chedi, etc.

The Chapter on Iconography is interesting. Local variations of different images which are quite different from the hyânas have been described but discussions about the influence causing such changes are wanting. The quality of the blocks particularly those of sculptures, is far from satisfactory and the reproductions are mostly useless for a scientific study. It is difficult to follow the scope of the book. The chapters on Administrations, Society, Religion and Culture, however appropriate in a book on the history of Gujrat, seem to be out of place in a book on pure Archaeology.

A notable omission is the mention of the prehistoric antiquities of Gujrat, the discovery of palaeoliths on the banks of the Sabarmati and more particularly the existence of an Indus valley civilization station in the Rangpur State.

A. C. G.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE
NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC III By
S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar. 9½"×6½",
pp. 1-208. University of Madras 1940.

This Volume comes as the third in Dr. Nainar's series of Persian sources of the history of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. It is an English translation of the major portion of *Sawanihat-i-Mumtaz*, a detailed history of the reign of Nawab Ghulam Husain, Mumtaz, *Umdat-ul-Umra*, Walajah II, written in 1837, by Muhammad Karim, a grandson of Nawab Muhammad Ali, Walajah I. The period covered by this book extends, roughly speaking, from 1794 to 1801. The volume opens with a nine-page introduction, containing the translators' appraisal of the chief value of the original work and his own impressions about the good and bad points in the character of Walajah II, his rather uneasy relations with the English, and his scarcely-veiled sympathy with Tipu Sultan. One can agree with all that the learned translator says about the chief features of the book, without being able to realise how the account of the last year of Walajah I, furnished here by one of his own grandsons, "will give an altogether different picture" of that self-seeking ruler. Again, so far as the reviewer has been able to discover, the text does not offer much to support the translator's statement that "in the intellectual domain, also, Carnatic began to lose its Muslim identity and declare itself in favour of alien culture and ideas."

One of the outstanding features of the book is the welcome light it throws on the social and domestic life led by the Muslim aristocracy in the Carnatic. The picturesque details of the various

ceremonies connected with marriage celebration, and the description of amusements, picnics, trips, visits to shrines and tombs, modes of travel, festivals of Muharram and Nauroz form interesting reading. The translation of the text which covers 184 pages is followed by four appendices, three of which contain specimens of the literary effusions of Walajah II, and by a very useful glossary of peculiar terms and expressions which occur in the book. The volume is without any index and the footnotes, though not many, are useful. There are illustrations of certain buildings and the reproductions of portraits of Nawab Walajah II and that of a general of his father who, however, has not been mentioned anywhere in the text. The translation is generally good and appears to be a fairly faithful rendering of the phrasing and form of the original. On the whole, the volume is to be commended as a welcome contribution to the history of the Carnatic Nawabs.

S. H. A.

Notes of the Quarter

A meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Society's office on Sunday the 20th April, 1941 at 10 a.m.

PRESENT

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali,
Kt., (in the Chair).
Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.
Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on Sunday the 19th January, 1941.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of January, February and March, 1941.
3. Passed payments of the following bills:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
i. Allahabad Law Journal Press Bills No. 50 and 52 printing charges for December issue of the Journal, 1940	386	10	0
ii. Oriental Book Agency Bill No. 1098 dated 22-11-40	208	12	0
iii. Anandasram Book Depot Bill dated 17-1-41	15	0	0

		Rs.	a.	p.
iv.	Oriental Book Agency Bill No. 4188 dated 16-1-41	32	12	0
v.	Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala & Co's. Bill dated 22-1-41 ..	65	0	0
vi.	Messrs. Chuckervartty Chatter- jee & Co's. Bill No. 3638 dated 20-1-41	74	2	0
vii.	P. Garibnath Jha for Krishna Janmarahasya	10	0	0
viii.	Patna Law Press Bill No. 32/41 dated 23-2-41	57	15	0
ix.	Patna Law Press Bill No. 3/41 dated 8-1-41	1	8	0
x.	Indian Photo Engraving Co's. Bill No. BP. 1072 CR. dated 18-2-41	35	0	0
xi.	J. B. Yadav & Sons Bill dated 9-3-41 (Boards for Tanjur) ..	53	8	0
xii.	Surajmall Sikaria's Bill dated 9-3-41 cloth wrappers Tanjur Series	43	11	6
	Surajmall Sikaria Bill dated 9-3-41 3 Dusters	0	15	0
xiii.	Messrs. Chuckervartty Chatterji & Co.'s Bill dated 26-2-41 (No. 3817)	90	8	0
xiv.	Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala & Co.'s Bill dated 27-2-41	63	10	0
xv.	Thacker Spink & Co.'s Bill No. 4/118 dated 25-2-41	18	7	0

		Rs.	a.	p.
xvi.	Messrs. M. C. Sarkar's Bill No. 3057/29 dated 5-3-41	25	8	0
xvii.	Messrs. Meherchand Lachhman Das's Bill dated 21-2-41 No. 3235	176	2	0
xviii.	Messrs. Meherchand Lachhman Das's Bill dated 3-3-41 No. 3247	14	8	0
xix.	Messrs. Newman & Co's. Bill No. 1151-E dated 12-3-41 ..	16	11	0
xx.	Golam Koddus Bookbinder's Bills Nos. 1 & 2 of March '41	184	0	0
xxi.	Messrs. Chuckervartty Chatter- jee & Co's. Bill 3927	43	14	0
xxii.	Messrs. Chuckervartty Chatter- jee & Co's. Bill 3933 ..	18	13	0

4. Read letter D.O. No. 814 dated March 10th 1941 from Curator Government Oriental Library, Mysore for exchange at least of Descriptive Catalogue of Mithila Manuscript volumes. Resolved that the request be acceded to.

5. Read letter No. 252-E dated 31-1-41 from the Assistant Secretary to Government, Education Department, Bihar.

Resolved that the request of the Provincial Museum, Orissa be granted and free copies of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society be supplied to the Museum.

6. Read letter No. 1139 dated 31-3-41 from the Assistant Director, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad for supply of missing Journals.
Resolved that the missing copies of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society be supplied at a price of Rs. 100 as a special case.
7. Passed a motion of condolence on the death of Sir George Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E. PH.D., who was an Honorary Member of the Society.
8. Elected Mr. Nalina Vilochana Sarma, M.A., Research Scholar, Patna College, as an ordinary member of the Society.
9. Placed on record the Society's deep gratitude to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for kindly permitting its distinguished Director of Archaeology, G. Yazdani, Esq., M.A., O.B.E., to come to Patna to address the annual meeting of the Society at which His Excellency the Governor presided. The Society is grateful for the interest taken by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in the ancient sites and monuments of Bihar which were visited by Mr. Yazdani.
Resolved to send a copy of this appreciation to the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C., President of the Executive Council of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.
10. Resolved to approach the Maharajadhiraja of

Darbhangā to enlist his patronage and support to the publication of the remaining volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Mithila Manuscripts, the first four volumes of which were published out of the funds generously placed at the disposal of the Society for the purpose by his illustrious father.

The Hon'ble Vice-President was requested kindly to address the Maharajadhiraja on the subject.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary

22-4-41.

Appendix

XVIII CENTURY SALE OF SERFS IN MITHILA

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

दासविक्रयपत्राणि

विहारोत्कलपुरातत्त्वगवेषणासमित्या प्राचीनपुस्तकान्वेषणे नियुक्तेन विष्णु-
लालशास्त्रिणा संगृहीतानि पाटलिपुत्रस्थविश्वविद्यालये संस्कृतप्रधानाध्या-
पकेनोक्तसमितिकार्यसंपादकेन श्रीमदनन्तप्रसादवन्द्योपाध्यायशास्त्रिणाप्रका-
शितानि ॥

(१) सिद्धि ॥ परमभट्टारकेत्यादिराजावलीपूर्वकगतराजलक्ष्मणसेनीये
षष्ट्यधिकषट्शते लिख्यमाने यत्राङ्केनापि लसं ६६० विक्रमार्कगतवर्षे एक-
नवत्यधिकषोडशशते लिख्यमाने यत्राङ्केनापि शाके १६६१ सालिवाहनीयगतवर्षे
षड्विंशत्यधिकाष्टादशशते यत्राङ्केनापि सम्वत् १८२६ सन् ११७७ साल
श्रावणकृष्णदशम्यां शुक्रे पुनः परमभट्टारकाश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधि-
पतिपातिसाहपदाङ्कितश्रीश्रीश्रीगोहरसाहे तदनुमतिलब्धफिरङ्गपदाङ्कितकल-
कत्तापुराधीशश्रीश्रीवडेसाहेबव्यवस्थापित मकसूदावादावस्थितश्रीश्रीमुजफर-
जङ्गे तत्प्रसादलब्धाधिपत्यपाटलिपुरावस्थितश्रीश्रीसितावराये तद्भुजावला-
बलम्बनप्रलब्धतीरभुक्तिदेशकरग्रहणसामर्थ्यकदडिभङ्गाग्रामावस्थितफौजदारप-
दाङ्कितश्रीश्रीराये संगमलाले सकलराजमण्डलालङ्कृतचरणारविन्दमहा-
राजाधिराजदेवदेवसदासमरविजयितीरभुक्त्यधिपमहोग्रप्रतापश्रीश्रीमत्प्रतापसिंहे
वर्त्तमाने प्रगन्ना परिहारपुरराघोहरिपुरग्रामस्थितो वलियाससं श्रीधीर-
शर्म्मा शूद्रक्रयणार्थं स्वधनं प्रदत्तवान् । धनग्राहक एतत्सकाशात्प्रगन्नाजर-
इलककरोडग्रामस्थितः करमहासं चातुर्धरिकश्रीलक्ष्मीदत्तशर्म्मा शूद्रो श्याम-
वर्णो धानुष्कजातीयो रविभ्रावुधुआनामानी द्वौ नानामध्यस्थकृतमूल्यगोहर-
शाहाङ्कितराजतद्वादशमुद्रा आदायामुष्मिन् धनिनि विक्रीतवान् । प्राणी दुइ
२ मूल्य रुपैया १२ बारह तकर देहाए रविभ्राक ७ सात बुधुभ्राक ५ गोत्रा-
गोत्रनिवारकश्चात्र विक्रेतैव पुनर्घास्यः । यदि कुत्रापामी दासौ प्रपलाय्य
गच्छेतां तदानेन पत्रपात्रप्रमाणेन राजसिंहासनतटादप्यानीय सकलदासकर्मसु

नियीज्यौ । यदि कोपि कुत्राप्यस्मिन्नर्थे विवदेत् तदा मया विक्रयकारिणैव समाधेयमिति ॥ दसखत रत्नपालसंग्रामस्थितश्रीशूलपाणिदास प्रगन्ना पीडारुद्ध लिखापन दीयते आना वारह ॥॥)

सही लक्ष्मीदत्त चौ० से लिखल से सही । गोआह श्रीगणेशभा साकिन ककरोड ।

सही देवन चौ० गो० रमण भा । साक्षी श्री भोटूठाकुर । साकिन ककरोड । गोः वोधभा क० साकिन ककरोड ।

गो० वाचा भा साकिन ककरोड । साक्षी श्रीप्रीतमशर्मा जलकी साकिन हरिपुर ।

[दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गतहावीभौआडग्रामसमीपस्थहरिपुरग्रामीणपण्डितश्री-मधुसूदनमिश्रशर्मपुस्तकालयात्प्रतिलिपीकृतम् ।]

(२) स्वस्ति ॥ परमभट्टारकेत्यादिराजावलीपूर्वकगतलक्ष्मणसेनदेवीय-एकाशीत्यधिकपञ्चशततमे सम्बत्सरे अङ्केपि लसं ५८१ द्वादशाधिकषोडशशत-तमे शकाब्दे च अङ्केपि १६१२ पुनः परमभट्टारकाश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराज-त्रयाधिपतिपुराणश्रीश्रीश्रीनरोरङ्गसाहसम्भुज्यमाने भूमण्डले तत्प्रसादलब्ध ढक्कासुब्बाधिकारश्रीश्रीसारिस्तापाणतत्प्रेषितजागीरदारश्रीइसपजिआपांसम्भु-ज्यमाने वङ्गदेशान्तर्गतपुटकिनीपुरनगरे जमीदारश्रीश्रीहृदयनारायणरायकानी-गोयाधिकाराधिकृतश्रीश्रीसुन्दररायकदवापरगनान्तर्गतमहथौरग्रामवासी पाली-संश्रीरामशर्मा दासदासीक्रयणार्थं स्वधनं प्रयुङ्क्ते । धनग्राहकोप्येतत्सकाशा-न्माघशुक्लदशम्यां चन्द्रे दरिहरासंचाँदशर्मा कटौहारपरगनान्तर्गतजगन्नाथ-पुरग्रामनिवासी राजतपञ्चाशतमुद्रामादाय अमातजातीयान् नयनचधूरैर्निज्जा-अंभूडीजुगरीबदरियाचमुञ्जानामान् ईषद्गौरवर्णान् स्वदासीदासान् नानामध्य-स्थकृतमूल्यान् अमुष्मिन् धनिनि विक्रीतवान् । तत्र विक्रीतप्राणी ६ दासा-स्त्रयः ३ दास्यस्तिस्रः ३ यदि कुत्रापि प्रपलाय्य गच्छन्ति एते तदा राजसिंहा-सनतलादप्यानीय दासदासीकर्मणि योज्येति । अत्रार्थे साक्षिणः सोदरपुरसं-श्रीलालशर्मा करमहासंश्रीनारायणशर्मा ब्रह्मपुरसंश्रीगोसीशर्माणः ॥ लिखि-तमिदमुभ्यानुमत्या करमहासंश्रीजयकृष्णशर्मणेति लिखापणोभयदेय ६।०)

[दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गतआनन्दपुरग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमत्तन्त्रेश्वरसिंहशर्मणः पु-स्तकालयादुपलब्धम् ॥]

(३) स्वस्ति ॥ परमभट्टारकेत्यादिराजावलीभोगपूर्वकगतलक्ष्मणसेन-देवीयसमुद्रयुगमषष्ठके गते शकाब्दे १६५६ पुनः परमभट्टारकाश्वपतिगजपति-

नरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिडिल्लीसम्भुज्यमानपातिसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीमहम्मदसाह
महीमनुशासति तत्प्रेषितसुब्बा ढक्कायां श्रीश्रीश्रीसुजाउद्दीखान नौआरसम्भुज्य-
माने तत्प्रेषितजागीरदारश्रीश्रीसएकखान नौआर पुटकिनीपुरसंभुज्यामने तत्प्रे-
षितराजश्रीरामचन्द्रनारायणराय कटिहारप्रगन्नान्तर्गततरजवाडग्रामे बुधबालसं-
श्रीहरदत्तशर्मा वलियाससं श्रीरमापति तथा वच्छरू तथा आनन्द तथा नर-
हरिशर्मसु शूद्रक्रयणार्थं स्वधनं प्रयुङ्क्ते । धनग्राहका अप्येतत्सकाशात् द्वाविं-
शतिराजतमुद्रामादायामुष्मिन् धनिनि विक्रीतवन्तः । यत्राङ्के प्राणी ४ स्वदासं
कैवर्त्तजातीयं परोआनामानं द्वात्रिंशद्वर्षवयस्कं तत्पत्नीममियानाम्नीमेकविंशति-
वर्षवयस्कां गौरवर्णां तत्पुत्रं दायानामानं सप्तवर्षवयस्कं सर्वमीषत्श्यामवर्णं
तत्पुत्रीं मुनियानाम्नीं गौरवर्णां विक्रीतवन्तः । यदि कुत्रचित्प्रपलाय्य गच्छति
तदा राजसिंहासनादानीय दास्यकर्मणि युज्यते इति सन् ११४४ साल आषाढ-
शुक्लपौर्णमास्यां तिथौ ॥

साक्षी महिसीबुधवालसंश्रीदुखहरनशर्मा राजवाडवासी हरिअम्बसं श्री-
नारायणशर्मा राजवाडवासी करम्बहासंश्रीगोपालशर्मा मरिचइवासी ॥ लिखि-
तमुभयानुमत्या बुधवालसं श्रीमणिधरशर्मा द्वाविंशत्यणुकमादाय याफरपुर-
वासिनेति ॥

[दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गतसर्वसीमाग्रामवास्तव्यठक्कुरोपाह्वश्रीयदुनन्दनशर्म-
णः पुस्तकालये उपलब्धम् ॥]

गौरीवराटिकापत्रम्

गौरीवराटिकापत्रमिदं माण्डरसं श्रीभवदेवशर्मा पालीसं श्रीसाहेव-
शर्मसु पत्रमर्पयति । तदेतत्सकाशाद्राजतमुद्रात्रयमादाय अमातजातीयां तुलइ
पुत्रीं श्यामवर्णां षड्वर्षवयस्कां वादरिपुत्राय परिणेतुं दत्ता । अतष्परं मम
स्वत्वं नास्ति शाके १६४५ सन् ११३१ सालमुलकी । आषाढशुक्लद्वितीयायां
गुरौ । सास्त्री श्रीवासुदेवभा श्रीविघ्नेशभा । लिखितमुभयानुमत्या श्रीघोषे-
शर्मणा । लिखापन आना तीनि=

[दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गत—आनन्दपुरग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमत्तन्त्रेश्वरसिंहमहोदय-
पुस्तकालये तालपत्रे लिखितमिदं गौरीवराटिकापत्रं दासपुत्रीपरिणयनकाले
तत्स्वामिना दासपुत्रस्वामिने दत्तम् । पुरातनोऽयं व्यवहारः । इदानीं तु
दासक्रयविक्रयनिषेधाद्गौरीवराटिकापत्रलेखनव्यवहारोऽपि नास्ति ॥]

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[PART III

Leading Articles

INDIA BEYOND THE GANGES*

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The Limits.

These are according to the views of Ptolemy as follows¹. In the west of the Ganges, or more accurately, first the *Sarabos* or the *Sarajû*, and more to the south after the conflux of this affluent with the principal river, the latter itself²; a portion of *Skythia* outside the *Imoan*-mountains, and a portion of *Serike*. This boundary he imagined as a straight one running in a parallel circle. To the east a straight meridian line separated trans-Gangetic India from the country of the *Sinai*, which began on the point where this country bounds *Serike*,

* Translated with notes from the original German of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* (1858).

1. VII, 2, 1; VI, 15, 1, and 16, 1.

2. S. above p. 108,

and reaches on the south, the *great bay of the sea*. In the south the boundary of India beyond the Ganges, was the Indian Ocean and a portion of the sea called *Prasodes*, which beginning in the west from the island *Menuthesiads* situated on the African coast, is bounded by a parallel towards the south, and reaches the country opposite to the great bay¹. As far as the determinations of the frontiers are concerned, they do not satisfy the present advanced knowledge of the eastern Asiatic countries nor the much more perfect state of geographical science; their defectiveness is however excused by the investigations of easternmost Asia which was at that time very low. I have already shown before

1. Ptol. IV. 8, 2. According to him this island is situated 5° more to the E. and $2^{\circ} 30'$ more to the S. than cape *Prason*, probably cape Delgado, s. above p. 97. In the *Periplus-Mar Erythr.* p. 9 it is called *Menuthesiads* and is according to *Bunsen* I. q. w. p. 26 *Zanaibar*. In the representation of this coast Ptolemy followed less reliable informations than those of the known *Periplus*. This appears also from his placing the river *Rhaptan*, cape *Rhaptan*, and the town *Rhapta* much too far to the S. since that river is the present Kiloa; s. G. *Bunsen* I. q. w. p. 9. foll. and p. 28 foll. Therefore Ptolemy deserves no credit if he describes in IV. 8, 1—3 the south frontier of *Ethiopia* and of the whole of *Lybia* in such a manner that it is formed by a line extending from the great bay of the outer ocean as far as cape *Rhaptan*, and by a portion of the western ocean which is connected with the great gulf, whilst the eastern frontier is the sea called *Baxéa dálassa* on account of its shoals, on the Barbarian gulf between the promontories *Rhaptan* and *Prason*. Thence towards the E. as well as in the W. and S. of *Ethiopia* and *Lybia* the earth was unknown. The name *Prasodes* must designate the portion of the Indian Ocean which extends between the bay *Prasodes* situated on the W. coast of *Taprobane* or a small bay near *Nigambo*. Even if not by Ptolemy himself, at all events by Greek authors the name *Prasodes* has been formed with the meaning of sea.

that the frontiers assigned by Ptolemy between trans-Gangetic India and the countries extending on the west of the Gaigâ are incompatible with the geographical relations of these countries. As the great snowy mountains separating Further-India as well as anterior India from the northern countries do not stretch in a straight line from west to east, but considerably bends towards the south especially between the Burmese empire and between Iünnan, the most south-western province of China, we must consider the representation of the Alexandrian geographer as an entirely arbitrary determination of frontiers, into which he was lead by the insufficiency of his sources. It is true enough that trans-Gangetic India is in the south laved by the sea, so that in this respect no objection can be raised against the representation; concerning this sea however and the shape of the coasts of most south-eastern Asia the views of Ptolemy are entirely false, as appears from the following remarks. In reality the coast of Further-India runs as follows:— From the Menam or Siam-river it takes a south-eastern direction as far as cape Kamboja; from it an E N. E direction as far as cape Aravella, the S. E. point of Kochin China; Further north the coast of Kochin China and of Tonkin retreats, and assumes from Kochin China an arch-like shape. The next-following coast of China follows an eastern direction, turning a little to the north as far as the peninsula of Lui-tscheû-fû, before which the

island Hainan is situated. In the north the Chinese sea-coast extends towards the north-east.

If we herewith compare the data of Ptolemy,¹ he ascribes a south-eastern direction to the coast of trans-Gangetic India from the mouth of the *Dorios* river or the great eastern arm of the Menam as far as the *Seros* or Kamboja river, the frontier of the great bay in the country of the *Sinai*. From the north-country of the great bay the coast-country of the *Sinai* turns chiefly southwards as far as the mouth of the *Kutiariis*, the present Tchinkiang, and then to the town *Kattigara*² or Kanton.

Herefrom it is evident that the Alexandrian geographer had entirely mistaken the shape of the coast of eastern Further-India and of South-China, and that he considers the country of the *Sinai* situated near the ocean as a southern continuation of Kamboja, the southernmost end whereof he places 6° more to the south than the most southern

1. VII. 2. His data are these: the mouth of the *Dorios* 168° E. Long. and 15° 30' N. Lat., that of the *Seros* 171° 30' E. Long. and 17° 20' N. Lat., for the above identifications I shall give the reasons below.

2. VII, 3, 2, foll. His data are the following:

The mouth of the *Aspithra*-river or Song-ku 175° E. long. and 16° N. lat.

The town *Bramma* or Semin-fu 116° E. Long. and 12° 30' N. Lat.

The mouth of the *Ambastos*-river or Ngan-non-kiang 177° E. Long. and 10° N. Lat.

The town *Rhabana* or Loui-tscheû-fû 177° E. Long. and 8° 30' N. Lat.

The mouth of the *Sinos*-river, or river flowing E. of this town 176° 20' E. Long. and 8° 30' N. Lat. Nôtion ákron the S. cape, or S. point of the island Hainan 175° E. Long. and 4° N. Lat.

cape of Ceylon¹. He unites the gulf of Siam with that of Kochin China and the small bay near the Tian-pe into one large bay. Perhaps he was led to this erroneous conception of the most-south-eastern coast of Asia, by reports concerning the peninsula of Loui-tscheû-fû and the island of Hainan situated before it. A dark suspicion of the Philippine islands, situated south of Formosa and including the Chinese sea in the east cannot be supposed to have been entertained by him. Ptolemy speaks of the unknown earth which was to limit the south of the ocean in front of southern Asia, in three passages of his geography². According to the most expressed mention thereof the earth inhabited by ourselves was bounded in the east by an earth unknown to us which is situated near to the peoples of *great Asia*, to the Sinai, and to those of Serike. In the same manner our earth was on the south enclosed by an unknown one, which flows round the Indian sea, and contains the southernmost part of Libya, the Ethiopia called *Agisymba*. In the

The innermost corner of the bay *Theriodes* or wild animals., i.e. that of the bay Tian-pe 177° E. Long 2° S. lat.

The cape of the *Satyres* or Haitschuan-schan 175° E. Long. and 6° S. lat.

The mouth of the *Kutiars* or Tschu-kiang 177 E. Long. and 7° S. lat.

Kattigara, the port of the *Sinai*, i.e. Kanton 177° E. Long. and 8° 30' S. lat. on *Kattigara* s. above p. 98 note 2.

1. S. above p. 215.

2. Namely IV. 8, 2, which passage was communicated above p. 225 N. 3. ; VII. 3, 1, where it is said, that the land of the Sinai is in the E. and in the S. limited by the unknown earth ; thus VII. 5, 2.

west the boundary of the known earth was formed by an unknown one, which encloses the Ethiopian gulf of Libya, and by the western ocean, which laves the western portions of Libya and of Europe. In the north Ptolemy conceived the unknown earth to be smaller, because in the north of Europe these but one ocean and only the northernmost parts of great Asia, i.e. *Sarmatia's*, *Skythia's* and *Sarike's* were bounded by the unknown earth.

Perhaps the opinion of *Eratosthenes* that Taprobane is the beginning of another part of the world induced the Alexandrian geographer to assume the existence of an unknown southland, besides also the reports which had perhaps reached him about the peninsula Loui-tscheû-fû and the island Hainan situated before it on the south-east coast of China; ¹ further the view of *Hipporchos* that Ceylon forms another part of the world, and lastly the long entertained belief that such is really the case². The suspicion that southernmost Asia is connected with the E. coast of Africa by means of a continent, belongs most probably to Eratosthenes; whether it had been announced already by *Aristoteles* is not certain³. Ptolemy could not adopt the idea of Eratosthenes and of Hipporchos that Taprobane is the beginning of a new part of the world, because he could have no doubt that it is an island, but

1. S. above p. 227.

2. S. on *Eratosthenes* above II. p. 743. Then *Pomponices Mela* III. 77, where it is said: "Taprobane is said by Hipporchos to be either a very large island, or the first portion of another world"; and the passages quoted from Pliny p. 213 N. 4.

3. S. above II. p. 743 note 1.

necessarily placed a more southern country in its stead. To the assertion that this unknown south-land extends to *Azania*, the Alexandrian geographer was reduced by the report of the author of the *Periplus* of the Red Sea, that Taprobane extends as far as the vicinity of the cape of that region. It is of course very surprising that so learned and accurate an author, striving so carefully after the truth as Ptolemy, should on the score of such insufficient authorities believe in the existence of a southern continent, especially as *Strabo* had denied it¹.

The grounds which have induced Ptolemy to suppose an unknown earth also in the E. and W. and partly in the N. are not known to us. This opinion of course greatly resembles the Indian idea of the *Lokāloka* a mountain-belt which encloses the seven world-islands and bounds the earth, and of the *Cakravāla*-mountains which surround the earth and divide light from darkness²; I do not however venture to assume that these views had become known to western geographers. As he supposed an unknown earth also in the W. of Europe and in the E. of eastern Asia, his geography, had *Christophoro Colombo* had the opportunity to use it independently, might have confirmed him in his opinion, that eastern Asia extends much farther to the E. than is really the case, and that therefore the rich countries of easternmost Asia would be accessible by a voyage from the Iberian peninsula. He had however based his opinion not on the Idea

1. S. above II, p. 743.

2. *Wilson* on the word.

of the most celebrated ancient classical geographer, but upon that generally current at the end of the 15th century, and derived from him and defended by him in the *Almagest* that the 180th meridian bounds the country of the *Sinai*. Misled by false conclusions Colombo extended that space to 140°; accordingly the easternmost coast of Asia seemed to him to protuberate as far as the meridian of San-Diego in New-California¹. Therefore he thought he had navigated only through 120 degrees of meridians instead of 231°, by which, e.g., the Chinese commercial town Quinsay is really distant from the S. W. point of the Iberian peninsula. Accordingly the error of Ptolemy had constituted to call fourth an undertaking the consequences of which resulted in the most brilliant and important discoveries ever known in the history of the world; namely the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and of the western continent.

THE MOUNTAINS.

Of the four mountain-chains mentioned by Ptolemy in trans-Gangetic India, i.e., the *Bepyrhon*, the *Damasa*, the *Semanthiros* and the *Maiandros*, the former has been determined already on a previous occasion². It answers to the portion of the *Himálaya* which is embraced by the source-domain of the Ganges in the W. and by the *Tistā* in the E. The *Damasa* mountains must therefore have been the eastern continuation of the long-stretched high chain by which the Indian countries

1. A. von Humboldt's *Kosmos* II p 307.

2. Ptol. VII, 2, 88 and above I, p. 549.

are separated from E. Tibet and afterwards from S. W. China, as far as the transruption of the Kamboja river¹. The more accurate data are the following. First the chain must be understood which separates Anterior Asia from Butan, and which has a north-eastern direction as the Alexandrian geographer also represented it. The middle portion of this chain is from the tribes *Aka* and *Duphla* dwelling N. of it, also called by these two names; further to the E. these mountains are situated between Upper-Asam and the *Abor* or *Mischmi*-tribes. Thence this chain assumes a south-eastern direction and founds² Asam towards the E. It is at present called the Langtam-chain. Also the more eastern meridian-chain (to the W. of which the upper Saluen river flows, and is at present called Dzalma) must be conceived as a part of Ptolemy's Damasa-mountains. They separate the domain of the Kamboja river from that of the Saluen. The *S^{em}anthinos* can be only the mountain-range separating the Chinese province Yunnan from Tonkin, and called by the Chinese *Tu^o-ling*; it is however situated considerably more to the S. than Ptolemy conceived it, namely about the 22nd degree of N. Lat. The name of the 4th mountain

1. This is clear from the most western source of the *Serou* or Kamboja-river in the *S^{em}anthinos*-mountains, having according to VII, 2, 9 the latitude of $170^{\circ} 30'$ E. long. and 32° N. Lat. and the W. end of the *Simanthinos* that of $170^{\circ} 30'$ E. long. and 33° N. Lat. the W. part of the *Tà Damasa* is situated in 162° E. long. and 23° N. lat. and E. part 166° E. long. and 23° N. Lat.

2. *A. von Humboldt Kosmos II. p. 30* [This note seems to be an error E. R.]

Maindros is grecicized from that of *Mandara*, by which the ancient Indians designated the mountains of the outermost East¹. By it we most correctly understand the *Muin-mura*-mountains, the chains of the *Jumadeng* running more south of it parallel to each other, and the chain surrounded after the people of the Khyen. In the first mountains the *Karmaçali* arises, in the E. the W. arm of the Arakan-river *Keladun*, in the third its East arm *Lara*. Accordingly the *Katabeda* of Ptolemy must be the present *Karmaçali*, and *Tokosanna* the Arakan-river. According to this rectification we may most properly seek his *Sados* in the gulf on the coast, situated opposite to the island Ramri, and into which the Aeng-river discharges itself the Alexandrian geographer must have erred concerning the river *Jamala* because none exists between the

1 S. above I. P. 549. The identification of the rivers *Katabeda*, *To-Kosanna*, *Sados* and *Tamala* with the present *Gomati*, *Phaṇi Karmaçali* and *Kraka*-river, proposed on p. 550 note 2, is no longer tenable, because I have afterwards found that the island *Katabeda* is situated on the coast of Citagong; s. W. Hamilton I. Q. W. I p. 174. Accordingly the *Katabeda* which flows through this country, must be the *Karmaçali*; without knowing this island, Viepert has obtained the same result from the following grounds. Firstly, the Gummati is an affluent of the Brahmaputra and the Phaṇi an inconsiderable coast-river. *Ptolemy* secondly reports I, 13, 7 that navigators from Palura or *Naupara* steered on the Coromandal coast in a due E. direction to *Sada* in the 'Apyura Xôra and thence to the S. E. to *Tamala*. According to these data, *Sada* must be the town *Dvajavali* of Thandwai, and cape *Tamala* is cape *Negrais*. Thirdly in favour of this view the whole drawing of *Ptolemy's* map militates, and fourthly the circumstance that according to the former views the extent of coast from the easternmost mouth of the Ganges or of the Megna, and of the mouth of the *Katabeda* would fall away.

western Irâvadi-mouth, and the two above-mentioned rivers.

THE CAPES, RIVERS AND BAYS¹.

As the rivers *Katabeda*, *Jokosanna*, *Sados* and *Jamala* with the cape of the same name have already been determined, I may begin this section with the above-mentioned S. W. point of the eastern peninsula. The gulf *Sabarakos* is the small bay on the western mouth of the Irâvadi, called by Ptolemy *Besinga*. Cape *Berobai* may be most appropriately sought to the N. of the present town Ie. The *Sobanos* I think, I may consider to be the *Tenasserim*, although the former discharges itself according to the representation of Ptolemy on the E. coast of the peninsula ; there ; however, so considerable a river does not occur². Probably the Alexandrian geographer confounds the Tenasserim with the Kimpohan-river which discharges itself somewhat more to the S.; cape *Tokola* was probably situated opposite to the island St. Matthew. The promontory Maxtrov Kwlor we might be inclined to consider as cape Romania, because according to Ptolemy it is the southernmost one of the penin-

1. *Ptol. VII.*, s. S. foll. According to Kiepert's remark Ptolemy's mouth of the Tamala-river is erroneous because he has placed it before instead of after the cape and emporium of the same name.

2. According to VII, 2, 6 and 11 the sources of the *Sobanos* have the N. Lat. of 13° and the mouths that of $40^{\circ}45'$. We cannot think of the *Meklong* which disembogues itself on the E. west, because it disembogues itself quite near the *Diona* the W. arm of the Menam, and the latter is $5^{\circ}45'$ distant from the mouth of the *Sobanos*. Hereto also the not inconsiderable number of towns between the mouths of the two last-mentioned rivers must be added.

sula ; the name speaks however against it. In the first word *Malai* is contained, which we know to denote a mountain in the languages of the aborigines of India ; the second word *Kwlov* means also side. But as cape Romania is situated on an entirely flat coast, we must seek *Malen Kolon* near Tringnu, where a mountain occurs¹.

Of the rivers of the golden peninsula Ptolemy makes the following statement². In the N. of this peninsula, on a nameless mountain-ridge, two streams originate which afterwards confluence and reach the peninsula ; afterwards the river splits itself into two arms. One is called *Attaba*, the second *Chrysoanos* ; the remaining part of the river receives the name *Palanda*. To all these three rivers he ascribes separate mouths, and those of the two latter ones he states to be on the E. coast. According to Ptolemy the *Palanda* reaches the sea in the same latitude with cape *Malen Kolon*, the *Attaba* on the contrary is more to the N. than this cape, the two former rivers must be the two affluents of the *Pakchan*, which confluence near the town of the same name on the isthmus

1. Ptol. VII, 2, 5, and 12. According to Palegoix's *Description of the Kingdom of Thai and of Siam* I, p. 23 a mountain with a fort is situated near the town Tringame. For another reason of the above identification I am indebted to Kiepert, who observes that the *Sabana* mentioned by Ptolemy must be sought on the island *Sabong* situated opposite to cape Romania whereon Singapore is situated.

2. VII 2, 5 and 12.

of Kra ¹. Of these the *Chrysoanos* of the Alexandrian geographer answers to the *Malevan*, and the *Palaneda* to *Paççan* which preserve its name. With reference to the *Attaba* a misunderstanding exists, because the last-mentioned river does not send out a branch to the E. coast. According to the representation of Ptolemy the *Attaba* ought to be a river flowing into the sea S. of Jantalen, perhaps the present Basit. The cause of this misunderstanding was the circumstance that on the isthmus of Kra but a short tract of land is situated between the region of the *Paççan* and of the *Kimpohan*, so that he could assume this river to be an arm of the *Paççan* ². His *Perimulia* gulf is the bay near Jantalen itself together with the more northern bay as far as cape Comorin.

The *great gulf* is the bay of Siam, according to the explanations and the rectifications of Ptolemy's ideas concerning it ³. According to his representations it begins near Pulo Bardia and ends at the S. W. point of Kamboja, which is called after the country, or also Tehrailin. His data about the two

1. *Report of a visit to the Pakcham river, some Tin Localities in the southern portion of the Tenasserim provinces*, By Captain G. B. Tremenhare F. G. S. in the *J. of the As. S. of B.* XII, p. 523 foll. with the map belonging to it. On this occasion I mention that on Berghans's Map of further-India the *Kimpohan Phumphin*, the *Pakcan Takchan*, is mentioned which is a river of the N. disemboguing itself on the E. coast, and called *Tehumpchon*, the latter is the *Sobanos* of Ptolemy's. above p. 232.

2. On this locality s. above I. p. 327 together with the app. p. LXIII. I have also noticed above p. 7 that the town *Perimula* or *Tantallen* was a foundation of the inhabitants of the island of Mannar.

3. s. above p. 227.

rivers of Further-India to be mentioned next, are the following¹. Both the *Doona* and the *Dorios* originate in the *Darmasa* mountains. The first turns towards the *Bepyrion* mountains and obtains from them an affluent. The latter statement must be rejected, because the mountains do not begin more to the E. than the sources of the Tistā². The *Daona* must be the *Mayping* or great west branch of the Menam river, which certainly contains also a western affluent, the *Maole*, but from the frontier-mountains between Siam and the Irāwādī-valley. The *Dorios* of Ptolemy must be the Menam, which joins the *Mayping* as he represents. Nor can any thing be objected against his representation according to which both rivers flow separately into the sea, because the Mekhong river unites itself to the W branch of the Menam near its mouth, and to the E. of the Menam a short river the *Bangjakong* flows into the sea. This must be the sea-reaching *Dorios* of Ptolemy. *Seros* the last river of trans-Gangetic India, arises in the *Semauthimos* or *Jir-ling* mountains, according to the statements at the service of the Alexandrian geographer, consequently much more to the S. than the Kamboja river; for, the *Seros* is really identical with it, because as we know its sources are situated far in the N. of the high snowy mountains. If Ptolemy causes it to flow together from two spring-rivers, he probably meant by the one the Menuntai or Makhup which flows from the W. to the Kamboja-river.

1. VII, 2, 7, and 11.

2. S. above p. 230.

THE COUNTRIES, THE PEOPLES AND THE TOWNS.

In the names of the countries of trans-Gangetic India communicated to us by Ptolemy the peculiar circumstance occurs that they are with one single exception taken from metals, in which the countries were rich, or were considered to be such. Therefore they have been given to these countries by the Greek merchants, which is also plain on account of their having been taken from the Greek language. With one exception they belong to western and to southern Hindustan; only *Chalkitis* or region rich in copper, is situated in the region of the Menam-river or middle Further-India. In it he knows besides only peoples and towns, and in the easternmost only towns. Herefrom it follows that he was but very incompletely informed on the last part of India. In general, he must have been but little acquainted with the interior of further India, because he does not distribute its towns (as was customary with him concerning the India this side of the Ganges) among the peoples and nations. As he does not give the longitudes and latitudes of the dwelling seats of the peoples but as a rule determines them only according to the mountains, between which they dwelt, and beginning with the northernmost nations, it will be difficult to assign to them dwelling-seats with confidence. For the towns of the interior country we possess the data of Ptolemy on their latitudes and longitudes' and although they cannot always be considered as certain, they at all events are the only means by which we may find out the positions of those

towns. Besides, we must make use of the data of Ptolemy concerning the sources and the mouths of the rivers, although these data fix only the outermost limits between which we have to find out the towns. Accordingly in several cases we must with these towns be satisfied with approximations. In the towns of the coast errors are mostly prevented by the certain recognizability of the capes and mouths of rivers. In order to facilitate the review, I shall divide the eastern Indian peninsula into a western, middle, eastern, and southern part, and shall begin with the first.

WESTERN FURTHER-INDIA

By the name *Kirradia* Ptolemy designates the country on the coast of Further-India from the town *Pentapolis*, about the present Mirkanserai, in the N. as far as the mouth of the *Jobasanna* or Arakan-river¹. The name of this country implies that it was inhabited by the *Kirâts* which nation we find in the great Epos, as being in the vicinity of *Lauhitya* or the *Brahmaputra*². Consequently they dwelt somewhat more to the N. than according to the testimony of Ptolemy. Accordingly the question arises, whether the *Kirâts*, whom we know to belong to the *Bhotas* and still to exist in Nepaul, had earlier spread so far, or whether the name has erroneously been transferred to another nation. For the latter supposition the statement in

1. Ptol. VII 2, 2 and above p. 231, on the rivers of those parts *Barsura* the second town answers to the present Ramu.

2 S. above I, p. 554 with the passages quoted in note 1 and on the present proposition *ibid.* p. 444.

the Periplus of the Red sea may be adduced, according to which the navigators sailing to the N. from *Dosarene* or the region on both sides of the Baitaraṇî, reached the country of the savage pugnosed *Kirradai* who were anthropophagi, like the other savage tribes¹. As the author of this book had reached only cape Comorin, and transferred the name *Kirâta* to a nation dwelling on the coast to the S. W. of the Ganges, it is certain that he made use of this name erroneously in order to designate the savage fabulous nations. Ptolemy had probably followed him and other authors of this kind, and has attributed to the name *Kirâta* a signification originally not belonging to it. Although the *kirâtas* had long before the time in which he lived immigrated into the Himalaya from their northern fatherland, and had from here spread southwards to the region on the Brahmaputra² it is nevertheless not credible that they should have taken possession of so southern region as Chaturgrâma and of a part of Arakan. Accordingly we shall scarcely err, if we consider the inhabitants of this region during that time as a nation of further India, namely as relatives of the *Tamrai*, who possessed the ulterior mountain-country as I shall afterwards show. Here I observe that between the name of the town *Pentopolis*, i.e. Five-town, and the name of northernmost Kurradia, *Caturgama*, i.e. Four towns, the

1. *Peripl. Mar. Eryth.* p. 35, these besides also the *Bargysoi*, the *Hippoprosopoi* (instead of *Ippiprosopoi* we must read *Ippoprosopoi* or men with horse faces and *Makroprosopoi* or large-faced ones are mentioned.

2. s. above p. 155.

connection can scarcely be overlooked, because originally Caturgama cannot have designated a region but only a place, which afterwards became the capital, but was originally the capital of only four villages over which one chieftain was placed, where as Pentapolis was the seat of a chieftain over five towns or rather villages, because it can scarcely be believed that there existed towns among the uncivilised tribes of Kiradia. A confirmation of this supposition is in the circumstance, that the *Bunzu*, who must be descendants of a tribe of the Tamerai (of whom hereafter) lived in villages under chieftains¹ of Kirradia it must yet be mentioned, that according to the writings used by Ptolemy the most beautiful Mulabathron was obtained there. I see no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement, although the trees of which this valuable oil and spice were prepared, and which are various kinds of Lauracea do not seem as yet to have been discovered in this country; for, according to the testimony of the most recent information, the vegetable products at least of Arakan have not yet been properly examined². Hereto it is yet to be added that in Silhet which is not far from *Caturgrāma* Malabathron is still prepared.

1. *Some Account of the Hill Tribes in the interior District of Chittagang* By the Rev. M. Barbe, Missionary, in *J. of the As. S. of the p.* 384.

2. On the Mulabathron s. above 1. p. 281, note 1, and p. 283 and note 3. In Silhet it is prepared of *Cinnamomum Tamūla*. See also *Notes on Arrakin*, by the late Rev. G. S. Comstock Ze in the *J. of the Am. Or. S. I.* p. 223.

If I have asserted before that the *Bunzu* are to be considered as the descendants of a tribe of the *Tamerai*, I base this assertion on the determination of their positions by Ptolemy, namely that they dwelt over the Kirradia or beyond this country as far as the *Maiindros*¹. As now by this name the Muin-Mura and the Jumadon-mountains are to be understood, we must consider the *Kuki* to the N. E. of Caturgrāma the *Bunzu* S. of this country and the *Khyeng* of the Jumadong-chain, as descendants of the ancient Jamerai². With one of these barbarous tribes, the Kuki, cannibalism has at least partly survived, which the Alexandrian geographer lays to the charge of the ancient Tamerai³.

The '*Aryurā, xōra* the silver-country, is the W. coast of further India from the mouth of the *Tokosomea* or Arakan-river in the N. as far as cape *Tamāla*, S. of the present cape Negrais. Also the portion of Tegu between it and the W. mouth of the E. branch of the Irāwadi near Dallah must have belonged thereto. These frontiers result with certainty from the data of the Alexandrian geographer⁴.

1. Ptol. VII, 2, 13.

2. On these nations s. above I, p. 460 with Add. p. LXXXIII and p. 338, with add. p. LXII. According to this determination the statement, Ibid. p. 549, note 1, that the present *Négas* are also descendants of the Tamerai, is to be corrected.

3. Memoir of *Sylhet Kachar, and the adjacent Districts* By Captain Fisher in the *J. of the As. S. of p. IX. B.* 837.

4. Ptol. VII, 2, 3, and on the rivers *Tokosanna* and *Sidos* and on cape *Tamāla* s. above p. 231, where I also remarked that it was by Ptolemy erroneously placed before the river and emporium of the same name, according to the determinations given above, the statement of above II p. 543, note 6, that '*Aryura, xōra* is the W. coast of Pegu, is to be corrected.

The E. frontier of this country must have been the Jumadong-chain, because it is the natural one. As a reason for the name Ptolemy says that many silver-mines are there. But according to the descriptions hitherto communicated Arakan is not rich in silver; only near Bassein on a navigable branch of the western Irâwadî-mouth silver-grains have been found in the brooks¹. Accordingly this will be the port *Tama'a* which, Ptolemy says, was visited by Greek merchants².

As this country has not yet been properly investigated with reference to its mineral products, and as according to the supposition of an intelligent observer of this country, the mountains of Arakan contain mineral treasures, which the present inhabitants do not know to bring to light³, there can be no reason to doubt the truth of Ptolemy's statement, or to deny that at that time many silver-mines were worked in the country. That *Sada* is the ancient *Dvajarati* the name whereof is at present Jhandwai or Sandowai, has been shown already before⁴. Possibly *Triglyphon* was the capital of the argentiferous country, and the present Arakan. It is true according to the determination of Ptolemy it is situated 1° more to the E. and 3° 30' more to the N. than the mouths of the river of the same

1. Charles Paton's, *Historical and Statistical Account of Arakan* in As. Res. XVI, p. 389.

2. *Ptol.* I, 13, 9, the town mentioned by him besides, is the present Dulet.

3. *G. S. Comstock* 1. q. w. p. 223.

4. S. above p. 238 and II, p. 1032.

name¹ ; with reference to correctness however they entirely correspond with the reality, only the numbers are too large. Hereto it must also be added that the foundation of this town which was originally called *Vaicālī*, belongs to an earlier time than that in which the Alexandrian geographer lived² and that no other capital in this country is known to us. The Greek name *Triglyphon* ; i.e. three-pointed likewise suits Arrakan, because it is situated on the point of the Delta, and the Arrakan-river splits beneath it into several branches, among which three are the most considerable. In favour of this removing of Trighyphon to Arrakan it may lastly be adduced, that Ptolemy's statements suits it at least partly, that there the cocks had beards, and that the crows and parrots were white. In Arakan namely there exists a kind of *Bucconidae*, which is on account of its beards called *barbet* by the English³.

To the next following series of peoples and towns we must assign their position in the region of the Iravadī, in such a manner, that we put them down as progressing from the N. to the S. As the region of posterior India now in question was but little known to the Alexandrian geographer, and his data concerning the positions of the peoples and

1. Ptol. VII, 2, 2 and 24. In the above determination I follow Kiepert.

2. S. above II p. 1032.

3. *Notices and descriptions of various new or little known species of birds.* By Ed. Blyth Ze in the j. of the As. S. of B. XV. p. 26. As also several kinds of parrots and ravens occur in Arakan, S. the teem *ibid.* XVI, p. 429, and his *Conspectus of Indian Ornithology.* *ibid.* XIX, p. 231 foll. than also the other portion of the above statement will be correct.

towns of those parts can claim no great accuracy, we may in the effort of assigning to them their places partly explain and partly limit his data from our more accurate acquaintance with this portion of further India. According to Ptolemy the *Aninachai* the *Indraprathai* and the *Ibethingoi* dwelt between the Bepyrhon and the *Damasa*-mountains¹. According to a remark made on a former occasion², this representation can be understood only so that the above named peoples were settled between the eastern-most final point of the former, and the western-most end-point of the second mountain-range. Now, as the *Besadai* were inhabitants of Sikkim³, the *Aninachai* would have to be placed into Butan and into the mountain-region situated to the E. of it, which is highly improbable; on the other hand it is much more probable that this mountain-country with Asam has remained totally unknown to him. Hereto it must also be added that the lower course of the *Bautisos* or of the Brahmaputra through Asam, had remained unknown to him⁴. Therefore I do not think I err if I seek the *Aninachai* in the Hukhong-valley on the region of the present *Singpho* and *Mischmi*, and consider them as older inhabitants thereof⁵. To them probably belongs the most northern town of this por-

1. *Ptol. VII*, 2, 18.

2. S. above p. 230.

3. S. above p. 154.

4. S. above p. 32.

5. On these nations s. above I, p. 453 and p. 455.

tion of Further-India, i.e. *Asanamara*¹. It will be the present Mountschi.

In the southern neighbours of the Aninachai, the *Indraprathai* we meet with a famous name of Anterior India. I have already shown before that it is the Pāli-form of the name *Indraprastha*, the capital of the ancient *Pāṇḍavas* on the Jamunâ². Accordingly Indians who had emigrated from it must have settled on the upper region of the Irāvadi. Probably they had from Upper-Asam crossed the frontier-mountains, settled in it first, and afterwards in the Hukhong-valley through which the Kyendven flows, since the legend designates this way as the one taken by the first immigrants from India³. There they probably founded the towns *Sagoda* and *Arthina*⁴. The first answers to the Muentoun Mjo in the Hukhong valley, and the second to the present Kakhjo on the chief-river. The first name is most probably corrupted and to be amended to *Sageda*, which denomination of Ayodhyâ has been transferred to a town in the country of the *Adisathroi*⁵. Accordingly it may be supposed, that also inhabitants of *Ayodhyâ* had joined the emigrants who had started from Indraprastha. Also in Anthina I fancy I recognise the name of one of the most celebrated towns of anterior India. It appears

1. According to *Ptolemy VII, 2, 22*, it is placed in 31° N. Lat.

2. S. above II, p. 1034.

3. S. above II, p. 1028.

4. *Ptol. VIII, 2, 22*.

5. S. above I, p. 155, Note 4.

plainly the Greak translation of the indigenous name, and to be explained from 'andinos rich in flowers—But as *Pātaliputra* was also called *Pushpapura* the town of flowers' there can scarcely be a doubt, that also Indians from it had transmigrated to the upper Irāvadī-valley.

The nation of the *Ibethingai* next bounding the Indraprathai on the S. must according to the preceding determinations have been settled between Mogaung in the W. and the Sineshan in the E. East of them Ptolemy places the *Domasai*, and S. of them the *Nangalogai*, whose name means according to him "World of the naked ones"; the dwelling-seats of the latter extend to the mountain *Maiandros*². To the former nation we must appropriately assign the forest-mountains of the Ka-Khyan in the E. of the preceding nation and of the Irāvadī, with an undetermined frontier towards the N., because the northern frontier chain of mountains between the Tistā and the transruption of the Kamboja river had obtained its names from it, wherefrom it follows, that its dwelling-places extend to the foot of the Damasa mountains. The Nangalogai must have possessed a tolerably wide country, from the E. frontier of Manipura to the mountains by which the Irāvadī-valley is separated from Oberlas and the source-domain of the upper affluents of the Siam-river, Bhanmo on the Irāvadī must have belonged

1. S. above 1, p. 1306, note 1.

2. *Ptol.* VII, 2, 18, I translate *Yumnón kosmòs* not by *nakedly ornamented* as has been done in the Latin translation, but the name is as above, in Sanskrit *Nagnaloka*, i.e. "World of the naked". According to the above determination the position of this nation is to be corrected on the map.

to them. The name of the Nangalogai demonstrates, that they used no clothing and therefore stood on the lowest step of civilisation¹. Between the Indian settlements on the upper Irâvadî, the Kyendven and the more northern country there followed a region not inhabited by civilised men. This assertion is confirmed by the Alexandrian geographer, because between 29° and 23° N. Lat. he is unable to name any town². In the search for the towns adduced by him in the region S. of the Nangalogai we start most correctly from history and look for such towns which appear in it as important. Accordingly I consider *Adisaga* as Tagong, the oldest Indian colony in the Irâvadî-valley³. *Posinara* was probably the seat of Pagân the third of the oldest Burmese kingdoms. These towns were probably situated in the country called *Chryse*, i.e. golden (which had obtained that name from its containing gold-mines), situated above *Argyra* and extending as far as the region of the *Besyingitai*⁴. As this nation possessed the coast between the western mouth of the Irâvadî, and Je,⁵ Chryse would according to this statement be the interior country to the N. of the Besyngites. According to another passage of the Alexandrian geographer as well as

1. I remark that *Nagna* here stands in the usual sense, and not in the Buddhistic one of *Râkṣasa* or giant, on which s. above II p. 98 note 1.

2. *Ptol.* VII, 2 23 and 24.

3. *In Ptol.* VII, 2, 23, and above II, p. 1028. According to Ptolemy it is situated in 23° N. Lat. which is correct within a few minutes, *Anasebion* I identify with the present Ava or Ambarabura.

4. *Ptol.* VII, p. 17.

5. *Ibid.* VII, 2, 4. As *Berobai* is Martban, of which below; Je must have formed the S. frontier of the Besyngiti-country.

of the Periplus of the Red Sea it appears that Chryse was reached from a portion the Coromandel coast probably Kalingapatana, by sea ¹. Accordingly we must suppose that according to the opinion of the Greek merchants who come there, also the coast belonged to Chryse. According to the communication made hereon above, Argyra must have been the W. frontier, but the eastern cannot be more accurately ascertained. The natural frontier towards the E. is at all events the chain separating the dominion of the Thalune or Saluen-river from that of the Siam-river, somewhat to the N. as far as the Latitude of the *Adisaga* or Tagong. According to these determinations Chryse embraces in the direction towards the N. a larger region than Pegu ; but in the W. a smaller one than the latter ². It is true that according to more recent informations gold is found only in the sand of the brooks in the vicinity of the town of Pegu, but also in Tenasserim, but not with certainty in the portion of it which must be considered as belonging to Chryse³. This however does not hinder as to believe that in ancient times gold-mines were worked, especially in the mountainous part of the country. The capital was called *Mareura*, and is probably no other than Prom or Crîketra, which town, it is true, according to indigenous history remained only till 97

1. *Ptol. VII, 1, 15* and *Peripl-Mar-Erythr.* p. 34, and above II, p. 543 and III, p. 6.

2. According to this the determination given above II, p. 543 is to be modified.

3. John Crawford's *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava.* p. 443, and J. W. Helfer's, *Fourth report in the Tenasserim provinces in the J. of the As. S. of B. IX,* p. 183.

after Chr. the residence of the second ancient Burmese dynasty, whilst Pagân was only in 107 after Chr. raised to become the seat of the dominion of the third dynasty¹; it may however be assumed that afterwards another royal family settled there and founded an independent kingdom, of which the indigenous historians report nothing. If this be correct then Marcura was the capital of only a portion of Chryse. Its name contains a plain reference to *Muraju* who is according to the Arakanese legend said to have been the founder of the oldest dynasty, and of the town *Arakan* or *Vaiçâli*². Probably the founder of the new dominion in Maresur came from Arakan and derived his race from the mythic founder of it. That Ptolemy does not mention *Posinara* as the residence of kings, can be no objection against the above view, because he knew little of the interior of the country. He describes the inhabitants of Chryse as light-colored, of small stature, very hairy, and flat-nosed³. This description in general suits the inhabitants of Further-India, only their complexion is rather yellow than whitish⁴.

The boundaries of the country of the Besyngitai have been determined already above. Their sea-coast towns *Sabara*, *Besynga* and *Berobui* are the present *Labûttassai*, *Rangun* and probably *Martaban*⁵. They

1. S. above II, p. 1035 and 1037. *Lasyppa*. I consider to be Taunu.

2. II p. 1026 Note 4, and p. 1028.

3. Ptol. VII, 2, 17.

4. S. above I, p. 457.

5. p. 242 Note 2, and Ptol. VII, 24. To the towns of Further-India are to be added : *Aresibion*, *Parisara*, *Larinagara*, *Lasyppa*, and *Aginnatha* as they are inserted in the Map.

were Anthropophagi, a circumstance which shows that neither their civilised northern neighbours, nor the merchants visiting their ports exercised, or were able to exert, a civilising influence upon them, but probably in the emporia so excellently situated for commerce with the interior, among which Rangun is at present the most important commercial town, merchants had established themselves, because their anxiety for profit overbalanced their fear from the barbarous inhabitants of the surrounding country, and their prudence had probably furnished them with the means to take advantage of the unacquaintedness of the Besyngites with the value of their goods.

MIDDLE FURTHER-INDIA.

In this portion of Further-India which embraces Las and Siam according to present geography, the *Sinai*, the *Kakobai* and among them the *Basanarai* were settled most to the N. between the *Damasa*-mountains and the frontier-country¹. This determination must be understood so, that they had their seats beneath the easternmost portions of those mountains, i.e. in Upper Las, namely the first in *Kemalain* and the latter ones in the *Laktho*-mountain-country. On account of the similarity of the name, or a part of it, the town *Archinara*, probably the present *Waignu* had belonged to the second nation together with the more eastern *Urathenai* or *Monlun*. It was bounded on the S. by the region called *Chalkitis*, which was called thus because many copper mines

1. *Ptol.* VII, 2, 18 and 22.

occured there ¹. This statement fits Las, because there copper is really found ². According to the preceding determination of the position of the Basanaria we must by the name Chalkitis understand Lower-Las. Of the towns which may be ascribed to this country, *Salatha* the present Zimme is probably the capital of a small principality in Lower-Las. ³.

Of the nations dwelling S. of Chalkitis Ptolemy relates that below them as far as the great gulf, or that of Siam, the *Kudupai* and *Barai*, after them the *Sindoi* and after that on the banks of the river the *Daonai* were settled⁴. This representation must be so understood that the two first peoples dwelt in northern Siam, the *Sindoi* especially S. of the Meklong and the *Daonai* between it and the Bangpakong. In the name of the *Daonai* perhaps the name of the Siamese is contained who, as we

1. *Ptol.* VII, 2, 18.

2. *The country of the Tree Laos*. By Dr. Gutzlaff in the J. of the R. G. S. XIX, p. 34.

3. *Ptol.* VII, 2, 23. In the identification of the towns adduced in this position of Further-India by Ptolemy, I proceed from the fact, that according to the most accurate map of Siam (s. above I. p. 332) the Menam and the Meking unite in about 16° 10' N. Lat. and that the united river splits again into two branches in about 15° 45' N. Lat. Further I take notice that Ptolemy gives to the Mekhlong which conflues with the Menam near its mouth, the name of Duona, and to the Bangpukong which disembogues itself to the E. of the former river, the name of Dorios; s. above p. 233. In VII, 2, 11, he places the confluence of these two rivers in 19° N. Lat. Therefore the more northern towns must be sought more to the N. than 16° 10' N. Lat. Their names are *Kimura*, *Pandassar*, and *Sipiberis* and answer to the present Lahaing, Sonkalak and Pikilluk which latter one was according to I. p. 333 a capital and was situated in 16° 39' N. Lat.

4. *Ptol.* VII, 2, 20. To the two former nations the towns *Sipiberis* or Korat, and *Ringiberi* or Angtong must be assigned.

know, call themselves *Thai*. The town called according to Ptolemy after them *Daona*, must according to his determination be sought there, where in the vicinity of Dvâravatî *Ajodhyâ* is situated, which was one of the oldest capitals of Siam, is mentioned in the most ancient history of the country, and had received its name from one of the most celebrated capitals of anterior India¹. The greatest notice the *Sinoi* deserve, because their name, as mentioned already before², shows them to be Indians who had transmigrated from anterior-India to Siam. They must there have greatly multiplied and extended themselves, because more towns are ascribed to them than to the other nations of those parts; and at the time when Ptolemy composed his work two governments must have prevailed among them, because he knows two capitals situated in their country³. *Balonga*, one of them, answers to the present Pacchapuri on the coast, and *Kortatha* the second, likewise situated on the sea-shore, is the present Taschin, the town *Sinda* so called from the Sinds is the present capital Bangkok, which had a position very favourable for commerce, and was perhaps the first colony of the Indians who had emigrated there, because it has obtained its designation from their national names. That they were zealously addicted

1. S. above II p. 1032. To them probably also the town *Pagrassa* or *Pakhnan* on the coast must have belonged,

2. S. above II. p. 1034.

3. Ptol. VII, 2, 7, and 25.

to commerce, seems to be evident from most of their towns being situated on the coast¹.

The Alexandrian geographer had obtained but a scanty knowledge of *eastern Further-India* because he is able to mention only Ams towns of it². Of these the most northern is *Randamar kotha* among all the towns of trans-Gangetic India, and must be *Keco* or more correctly *Kiauçi* the present capital of Tonkin, which name was given to it and to the province the capital whereof it was, by the Chinese emperor *Wuti*³. Although at the first glance it might seem hazardous to attempt to attribute an Indian name to a town situated so far from anterior India, and in country inhabited by nations speaking quite different languages, this attempt may be justified by the fact that also *Randapura* a very ancient town of Arakan presents in its name the first portion of Randamarkotha⁴. It must be considered as the Pâli-form of the Sanskrit-word *Randhra*, cave. The last portion of the name on the contrary displays the uncorrupted form

1. Of these *Thagora* must be the present Banglaphan, for which supposition the circumstance especially militates that according to Ptolemy it is situated 1° more W. than the beginning of the great bay or Pulo Bardia, and 1°, 45° more to the N. Banglaphan is situated in the small bay between this cape and point Kwi. *Throuna* is Phriphri on the coast, and the inner town *Barcukora* or *Barenaora* is Pakphrek.

2. Ptol. VII, 2, 7 and 23.

3. S. above II. p. 1039 and *Geography of the Cochin Chinese Empire*. By Dr. Gutzlaff, in the J. of the R. G. S. XIX p. 110.

4. *On the History of Arakan*. By capt. A. P. Phayre Ze in the J. of the As. S. of B. XIII, 1, p. 28. It is situated in the southernmost portion of Arakan, and the name means cave-town.

of the sacred language of the Brahmans, in which *Markaṭa* designates a monkey. Accordingly the whole name would imply, that many monkeys dwelling in caves lived there. In favour of this supposition I may also adduce that in the forests of Tonkin great monkeys live in herds¹. The name of this town points to the fact that in it Indian merchants had settled, especially as Ptolemy mentions of it, that Nard is found there, a report which the Hellenic merchants can have received probably only from the Indian ones.

Although in the most recent descriptions of Kochin-China the Valesiana is not mentioned, from which the perfume highly esteemed by the ancients is obtained, and among the articles of exportation from this country Nard is also wanting². Therefore from this circumstance no conclusion can be drawn against the correctness of the information communicated by Ptolemy, because Tonkin, as well as Kochin China and Kamboja are rich in the most precious products of the vegetable kingdom, and the Nard is at present of smaller value than in ancient times. The Sanskrit name of the town Kganagara, i. e., town of the mountains or of the trees. the present Kangkho or Hatain, bears testimony to the lasting presence of Indian merchants in this portion of further-India. The third town *Tomura* must be the town of the same name of the land Kamboja, which is at present also called Pontaipret.

1. Gutelaff 1, p. 104.

2. Namely besides the above-mentioned treatise of Gutzlaff also John Crawford's Diary of the Embassy to the Courts of Siam and of Cochin China p. 798 foll.

SOUTHERN FURTHER-INDIA

The earliest uncertain knowledge of this part of Further-India had reached the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea* who relates that a kind of tortoise was called *Xrusonesiotike* because they were caught on the coasts of the island of Chruse, which was situated towards the rising of the sun in the eastern ocean¹. In this error *Dionysios*, the *Perieget*, and much later *Nikephoros Blemnides*, according to whom *Chryse* was situated there, where the sun rises, participate with him². After it had been ascertained that it is a peninsula, the name *Xrúsé* was transferred to it likewise³. *Ptolemy* calls the country *Chrysochersonesos* and relates, that it had obtained this name on account of its riches in gold⁴. According to his representation the N. frontier of the gold-country is situated at the mouth of the Tenasserim-river in the W. of the island Pulo Bardia in the E⁵. Herefrom it is

1. The correct amendment proposed by me above III, p. 46 of the lection in Hudson's edition was also made by C. Mueller, and incorporated into the text; s. his ed. of the *Minor Greek geographers* I, p. 296.

2. *Dionysios* V. 591. *Nikephoros* p. 10. ed. Spohn.

3. *Stephanos of Byz.* and the word *Xrúsé*.

4. *Ptol.* I, 13,9, and VIII, 2,5,6; 21 and 25. Informations on the occurrence of gold in Malacca appear in the *Journ. of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* I. p. 81 under the title: *Gold from Pankilling Bukit, and Gold and Tin from Gongory on the Johore River.* S. also *Ritter's Asien* N. 1, p. 27. According to Low's observations made there in *As. Res.* XVIII p. 130 and p. 131 which volume is not accessible to me, gold is found in many quartz-veins, which permeate the peninsula, and in quartz fragments.

5. This is evident from the northernmost town *Takola* or *Rindong* having nearly the same latitude, namely $4^{\circ} 45'$.

evident that the portion of the western coast of Further-India forming the present British provinces Tavoi and Tenasserim had remained entirely unknown to him, or rather that no towns in it had been mentioned to him, because *Berobai* or Martban is the southernmost town of Chryse, and the S. frontier of these countries is Je. According to the informations which had reached Ptolemy, the northern mountainous region of the golden peninsula there were many tigers and elephants, and the inhabitants of it lived according to the manner of wild animals, dwelt in caves, and had as thick a skin as the Nile-horses, so that it could not be split by javelins. To what division of the population of Further-India this barbarous nation is to be accounted, is not quite certain; I presume it to be a tribe cognate with the *Samang*, who have survived not far from it, more to the S. in Züada on the peninsula of Malava, and belong to the negro-like nations, who exclusively possess Van Diemens land and some islands of the Pacific ocean, and occur on the larger islands of the Indian archipelago among the Polynesians who have immigrated afterwards¹. They still persevere in their original savageness, so that the description of the inhabitants of the interior mountains in the N. of the golden peninsula, given by Ptolemy, fits them; but whether

than the northernmost of the pirate-country, *Zabai* or *Muangmai*, which is situated in $4^{\circ}1' 45''$. The town *Muangmai*, is wanting on the map before me, but must according to Ritter's statement *Asien* III, p. 1030 have nearly the position of *Zabai*.

1. S. on them above I. p 462.

also the unusual thickness of their skin, which he ascribes to them can be verified, I am unable to tell. It might sooner be a quality palmed off upon them by their civilised neighbours. On the other hand it is quite correct that in the said mountainous country many tigers and elephants occur¹.

The eastern coast of the Chrysochersones, from the island Pulo Bardia in the N. till about Ligor, was at the time when the Greek merchants navigated that sea, and brought from its shore informations to their fatherland, in the possession of pirates². The coast of the peninsula of Further-India in the S. of the town Muangmai is poor and desolate³ and thereby afforded suitable asylums to the pirates, from which they were able to surprise and to plunder ships sailing by. From the above statement of the Alexandrian geographer we learn that pirates visited the waters of the Indian archipelago, as they still do in our times, although on a comparatively smaller scale on account of its frequent navigations

Of the towns of the golden peninsula in the stricter sense of this name only one deserves special mention, namely *Kokkonagara* because the name

1. Helfer 1. q. w. in the *J. of the As. S. of B.* IX, p. 159.

2. *Ptol.* VII, 2, 6. Their Towns are besides *Zabai* (s. above p. 248) called *Arkadra* or Persong, *Thipinova si* or Lang-Senrum or Tajong on the mouth of the Cimpolian river (the Sobanos of Ptolemy; s. above p. 232) according to Tremenhere's Map in the *G. of the As. S. of B.* XII p. 533 and *Sumarade* or Banklong.

3. Ritter's *Asien* III, P. 1080.

shows that it was founded by colonists who had come from anterior-India. It was situated in the interior of the country, nearly in the latitude of the present Kaija on the coast.¹ Of a second town *Perimula*, situated where at present Tantalén is, it has been shown already before, that it was founded by merchants from the town of the same name on the island Manaar at the N. point of Ceylon².

Of the *islands* which Ptolemy mentions as belonging to trans-Gangetic India, only two may be considered as really belonging to their number³. Their names are *Barakata* and *Saline* and must be the Diamond-islands and the Sunken island, situated in the vicinity of cape Negrais. According to the reports of a few persons who have visited it, on the latter there are said to occur many shells⁴, and the

1. After Ptol. VII, 2, 5, and 6, it was situated 40' more to the N. and 1°20' more to the E. than cape *Tako'a* which is situated opposite to the island St. Mathew; s. above p. 232. To the town of the same name situated somewhat more to the N. I can assign no name, because on the maps at my disposal no names of towns occur there. *Koka* means a kind of palms growing wild; which probably gave the name to the town of Kokkonagara. Of the towns of the interior *Balonka* was situated perhaps there, where now Pennom is, *Tharra* where at present Kolin-a, and *Polanda* where at present Salangor of *Sabana* it has been pointed out above p. 232 note 2, that it answers to the Sinkapor of to-day. According to this determination *Koli* is to be sought on the E. coast near Patani.

2. s. above p. 168.

3. Ptol. VII 2, 26. foll. The two above mentioned islands have the position of 149° 30' E. long. and of 9° 40' N. lat. and 147° E. long. and 9° 20' N. lat. Cape Negrais or *Tamala* 151° 40' E. long and 8° N. Lat.

4. Willberg understands *kóklon* to mean *stibium* i.e., *antimony* which is found and used for blackening the eye-brows of the women, I prefer the usual explanation, because at least on the island Cerduba situated on the coast of Arakan

inhabitants are called *Aginnatai* because they always walk about naked. As the *Sankha* shells are used by the Indians as ornaments, we may in the case before us also understand a kind of shells. The epithet attributed to the inhabitants of these islands on account of their nudity is certainly corrupted and to be read '*Apinnatai*' because in Sanskrit *apinaddha* means unclothed. [In the proposal to read in Ptolemy *Apinnatai* for *Aginnatai* it does not escape me, that the complete form is *apinaddha*; herein it must however not be overlooked that *pinaddha* is the most usual form; at any rate, Bopp in his *Glossary* adduces 4 examples of *pinaddha* and none of *apinaddha*. As the designation here in question originated from merchants, to whom no accurate acquaintance with the learned language of the Brahmans can be attributed, they probably considered *pinaddha* as the radical form. But as the traditional lection does not yield the required signification, I think I may consider my emendation as certain.]

THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

Of this great archipelago to the Alexandrian geographer only one great island, namely *Java* and a small number of the countless little islands had become known. The reason for this slight acquaintance of Ptolemy with this portion of Asia was the circumstance, that the navigators along the coast of Malacca and of Sumatra sailed till the

many and valuable shells occur. s. Edward P. Halstead's *Report on the island of Cheduba* in the J. of the As. S. of B. X. p. 368, and on the use of the *Sankha*-shells s. above I p. 244 note 1.

southernmost point of the former country, thence continued their voyages either to southern Java, or northward to Siam.

Of the smaller islands mentioned by the Alexandrian geographer, those called Sindai and inhabited by anthropophagi were situated either N. W. or S. W. of cape *Malen Kolon* or Tringanu¹; the northernmost of these three islands must be Pulo Rapat on the coast of Sumatra, the middle one not mentioned by name is the more southern Pulo-Pangor, and that of *Agathodaimon* must have been one of the island belonging to the Salat-Mankala group. It must have been the seat of a sanctuary, probably for navigators. It is surprising that the name of these three islands shows, that Indians also were settled on them, whereas in reality they were inhabited by cannibals. Accordingly I suppose that Indian merchants had established themselves among the barbarous aborigines of these islands. That uncivilised customs must have been very common among those islanders, because it prevailed also among the inhabitants of the two other groups of islands which had become known to Ptolemy. The first consisted of five islands called *Barusai* which we must not seek with Ptolemy in the S. W. like the preceding ones, but in the S. E.² They

1. Namely cape Malea Kolon was according to VII, 2, 5, situated in 162° E. long. and 20° S. lat; the northernmost *Sinda*-island $152^{\circ} 20'$ E. Long. and $8^{\circ} 4'$ N. Lat. that of *Agathodaimon* 145° E. long. and $4^{\circ} 15'$ S. lat. Also *Steph. Byz* (a. t. w.) mentions the island *Agathodaimon* as situated in the Indian ocean.

2. According to him the middle one has namely the position of $150^{\circ} 40'$ E. long. and $5^{\circ} 20'$ N. Lat.

can only be Linga, Bangka, Pulo Leat, Long and Billiton, the five islands situated on the E. coast of Sumatra. The second group, of the three islands called *Saladibai*, answer to the three islands situated in the Sunda-straits near the W. coast of Java, namely to Panaitan or Prince-island, Pulo Rakata, and Kebishi¹.

That the Jabadin of the Alexandrian geographer is Java, and that it is a corruption from *Jaradvīpa* I have shown already before; also that the translation of barley-island given by him may be justified by the supposition that the word *Java* was applied to the only kind of corn *Jawāwat* which was known on the island in the oldest times². According to the reports at the disposal of Ptolemy, Java produced much gold; and to conclude from the analogy according to which several countries of Further India were on account of their metallic wealth, by the Hellenic commercial travellers surnamed gold-land, silver-land, copper-land, and golden peninsula, its riches in silver are borne out by *Argyre* the name of its capital in those times, which is probably no other than the town *Giling Wesi* the oldest town of Java, situated on the S. coast³.

1. According to Ptol. VII, 2, 25, the W. coast of Java has the position of 167° E. long. and $8^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat. and the middle *Saladiba*-island that of 160° E. long. and $10^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat. The three above named are the largest in those parts. The name of these islands answers to the Sanskrit *çāladvīpa*; but I do not know whether the Indian tree designated by the first word grows upon them.

2. Ptol. VII, 2, 29; and above II. p. 1042.

3. s. above II. p. 1055. *Stephanos* of *Byz* transfers this town erroneously to Taprobane, and just as falsely explains its name by barley-island

Now, as far as the statements of Ptolemy are concerned he must in this case have followed unreliable reports, because Java is poor in precious metals. The Hollandish government attempted to work gold and silver-mines, but soon afterwards again gave up the attempt¹. It is true that gold is found in the sand of several rivers of Java; the mountains of the island are however generally not rich in metals, if thereby veins or deposits of metal-holding gravels, of a quantity sufficient to pay for the work, be understood². Accordingly it seems that the greater wealth in gold of the adjoining Malacca had induced the western visitors of India to transfer the riches of gold to less known Java.

The outermost limit of Ptolemy's acquaintance with the Indian archipelago is pointed out by the three islands named after the *Satyres*, because according to the fabulous reports of the sailors they are said to have had tails, like those Greek demi-gods³. Two of them can only be Madura and Bali, which are the largest islands situated on the N. E. coast of Java, and the first of which is chiefly noticed in the oldest Javanese legend,⁴ and the second in later times. The third island is probably Lombock situated near Bali in the E.

1. s. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the History of Java I, p. 26.

2. Franz Junghahn's, Java its plants and interior structure. Transl. into Germ. by J. K. Haskarl, III p. 883 and p. 285.

Ptol. VII, 2, 30. They are situated in 171° E. long. and $2^{\circ} 30'$ S. Lat. and the E. end of Java 169° E. long. and 8° S. lat.

3. s. above II, p. 1054,

Herewith the representation of the description of the Indian countries contained in the geography of Ptolemy, and their explanation is completed, and to it a review of the results obtained therefrom for the history of India in the first-third, of the second-first Christian century might be most appropriately added, were it not necessary to take into consideration the statement of *Jambulos* on his voyages to an island of the Indian archipelago, which statement was written already before Ptolemy composed his geography¹. If the Alexandrian geographer has entirely neglected him, he probably did so because *Jambulos* had narrated several incredible things about those distant islands which induced Ptolemy (who critically weighed his sources) to reject the entire statement of *Jambulos* as a fiction. That herein he went too far, I think the following examination will abundantly prove:—

Jambulos, the son of a merchant, and himself a merchant, had been made prisoner (in a journey through Arabia to the Spice-regions on the coast of Africa) by robbers, together with his travelling companions. The latter and himself were first conducted to shepherds, but afterwards by Ethiopian robbers to the sea-shore of Ethiopia. Among the inhabitants thereof an ancient and divinely established custom prevailed, that always after the expiation of six centuries the expiation of the country was to be accomplished by two foreigners.

1. As we know, an extract from him occurs in *Diodorus* II 57-60 or till the conclusion of the second volume.

For this purpose a small although serviceable ship was built which two men could easily manage. It was freighted with provisions for six months, and the two men embarking therein were ordered, in conformity with the edict of the oracle to steer in a straight direction towards the S. to a happy island, in which they would after their arrival on it, lead a blessed life with the inhabitants thereof. If they reach the island, the country of the Ethiopians would during six hundred years enjoy peace and a very happy life; but on the other hand if they return on account of stress of weather, they would have to suffer the hardest punishments as wicked and ill-boding men. After a sacrificial festival celebrated by the Ethiopians on the shore of the sea with great solemnity, the ship was with Jambulos and his companions, abandoned to the waves.

After they had during four months contended against the waves, the ship was driven to the island for which it was destined. When it approached the coast some of the islanders met it and brought it to the shore. *Jambulos* and his companions were amicably received and received a share in all their goods. They sojourned for seven years on the island. After that they were expelled as bad men addicted to vicious morals; but against their will; therefore they again repaired the ship, obtained the provisions necessary for a voyage, and reached after a voyage of four months a sandy coast of India. Here the ship was wrecked, on which occasion the companion of *Jambulos* was drowned,

but he himself escaped to a village, the inhabitants of which brought him to the king of *Palibothra* which was very distant from the sea. The latter was a friend of the Hellenes and esteemed science. He showed great favour to *Jambulos*, and provided him with the necessary means for his journey. Then *Jambulos* reached his native country through Persia, where he composed a narrative of his travels. In this he related many things otherwise unknown about India. Nothing of this book has reached posterity beyond the extract which Diodorus had made of it, containing the statement of *Jambulos* about the island of the Indian archipelago visited by him, and the inhabitants thereof. The loss of the other portions of the book of *Jambulos* is greatly to be deplored, because the present advanced state of archaeology would have enabled us to discern truth from fiction, and because no other Travels or reports concerning the distant Indian islanders of that time existed either in the Hellenic or in the Roman language.

Of the island and of its natural products *Jambulos* had narrated as follows:—

It had a rounded shape and a circumference of 5000 stadia or 125 G. M. There were besides it yet six other islands which were equally distant from each other. The inhabitants of all these islands followed the same laws, and observed the same manners. The sea encircling the island more accurately described by *Jambulos* had boisterous currents, floods and ebbs; the taste of its water was sweet; the constellation *Ursa major* and others known to th

Greeks were not visible there. There the days and nights were always of the same length, and no object threw a shadow at noon, because the sun was in the zenith.

THE STATEMENT OF JAMBULOS.

If we first stop at this part of the statements of *Jambulos*, it is to be observed, that in the Indian ocean N. of 8. S. lat. the monsoons change regularly, and that the S. W. monsoon blows from April till October; accordingly it would drive a ship from the coast of Ethiopia to the Indian archipelago. Accordingly there is no reason why we should not believe that the ship of *Jambulos* was not driven by the S. W. monsoon to an island of the Indian archipelago. Also the part of his narrative wherein he says that there the sea has violent currents and stormy tides, fits the Indian archipelago in which these two phenomena are caused by the numerous and narrow straits which separate the islands from each other. Further, the statement that the days and nights are of equal duration and that the shadow falls perpendicularly at noon, that *Jambulos* himself had sojourned in an island of the Indian archipelago. We know that these two phenomena occur in the vicinity of the equator and that between 0° and 8° 34' S. or N. lat. the longest day lasts 12 hours and 30 minutes; consequently the island visited by *Jambulos* must be sought within this latitude, i.e. S. of the equator, because *Jambulos* cannot have reached the archipelago through the straits of Malacca, but must have arrived there to the S. of

Java, and because this island, as well as the more eastern ones are situated S. of the equator.

This island was very liberally fitted out by nature. It had large springs which islanders used for bathing, as well as springs distinguished by the sweetness of their water, and greatly contributing to the health of the inhabitants¹. By its situation under the equator, its temperature was a very favourable one, because its inhabitants had to suffer neither from heat nor from cold; the fruit-trees bore fruit throughout the whole year². Reeds grew there which produced abundance of pea-like fruits. These fruits the islanders softened in hot water, so that they swelled to the size of pigeons-eggs. This dough they kneaded in a dexterous manner with their hands and formed of it sweet breads, which they baked in ovens. On their clothing we learn the following³. They prepared it from a kind of reed, the centre whereof contained a brilliant white wool. This they collected, mixed it with pounded oysters, and thereby imparted to their clothes with astonishing skill, the purple-color. The wealth of fruit-bearing trees was extra-ordinary, especially the plants and lianes yielding oil, from which the islanders pressed out oil and wine⁴.

That the Indian archipelago enjoys a very mild climate, and an extra-ordinary superabundance of plants of the most precious kind, is well known.

1. Diodor II, 57, 3.

2. Diodor II, 56, 7. and 59, 3.

3. Diodor II, 59, 4.

4. *ibid.* II, 59, 3.

Among the reeds which furnished to the islanders, now in question their nourishment, no doubt the Sago-palm must be understood, because with only one exception it is the lowest of all kinds of palms, and therefore might be designated as a reed, especially as high-growing reeds, e.g., Bamboos occur there. The description of the Sago-Flour by *Jambulos*, corresponds in the material points with the proceedings of to-day. The slimy marrow of the palm is pounded and mixed with water; of the flour afterwards cakes are made and hardened in heated moulds¹. As the zone of the propagation of the palm is towards the W. limited by the eastern portions of Borneo and Celebes², that described by *Jambulos* is not to be sought further W.

What plant *Jambulos* meant when he stated that the islanders manufactured garments from the brilliant and soft wool occurring in the centre of the reeds, I cannot determine³. among the dying stuffs used by the inhabitants of the Indian

1. John Crawford's *History of the Indian Archipelago* I. p. 389 foll.

2. *ibid.* p. 386.

3. It was in no case the Banana or *Musa sapientum*, the fibrous portions whereof furnished; (according to Crawford's remark I, p. 207) material for the clothes of the inhabitants of the archipelago before they had learnt the art of weaving, from the Indians; such are the garments yet at present exclusively used among the lower classes of the inhabitants of the Philippine islands. Hereto it must also be added that during the course of this investigation it will become evident, that the inhabitants of the island visited by *Jambulos* were acquainted with Indian arrangements, and therefore probably also understood weaving. We might further think of the gossamere-like textures of the Gomati-palm, many of which were imported into China and used as tinder in the calking of ships. S. John Crawford I. w. II. p.400.

archipelago no oysters occur so that it must be left undecided whether the islanders now in question, really fished for oysters in the sea, of which they prepared a colour resembling purple or Jambulos must from the beautiful red colour of their clothes have concluded that they caught a kind of oysters, which yielded just as beautiful a colour as the purple-snails known to him. On the other hand he had remained extremely faithful to truth when he stated, that abundance of plants yielding oils and wines was to be found there. The islands of the Indian archipelago produce various kinds of oils, the enumeration whereof would here be in the wrong place¹. By the wine mentioned by Jambulos we must of course not understand a wine pressed from grapes but an intoxicating beverage prepared from palm-juice, but must properly that obtained from the sap of the Gomati-palm, which resembles wine whilst this palm-tree is lower than all others and resembles creeping plants².

1. On these see John Crawford 1 q.w. I. p. 379 foll.

2. John Crawford 1. q. w. p. 397 and 399. As the statements of Jambulos concerning two animals contain several improbabilities, and moreover do not contribute to the identification of the island visited by him they may here be inserted. They are firstly (according to II, 59, 3) serpents of extraordinary size, but harmless and possessing eatable and very sweet meat. Secondly they are (according to II, 58, 2, 4,) animals of unusual smallness but endowed with a marvellous constitution of their bodies. Their bodies had a roundish form, which was marked by two loam-coloured lines running from the upper portion downwards. On each of the two upper portions by the side of the lines these little animals possessed an eye for seeing and a mouth for eating, so that they possessed four eyes and four mouths. All the food which they swallowed with four throats met in a single belly. In this manner

Of the bodily constitution and circumstances of the islanders with whom Jambulos associated during seven years, and therefore enjoyed the best opportunity of becoming familiar with them, he has communicated the following details, in which it is to be deplored that Diodorus had preserved to us but in a scanty extract, just those of his communications which refer to the religion, to the constitution and to the manners of the islanders.

As far as their bodily constitution is concerned it greatly differs from the remaining inhabitants of the earth in size¹. Their stature amounted to four ells, and their bones were as pliable as the nerves of other men. Their bodies were very delicate, but provided with strong nerves, so that nobody could take out anything out of the hands of these islanders what they had grasped with them. Besides the hair of the head, the eye-brows, the eye-lashes and beard they had no others, so that the remaining portions of their bodies were entirely bald, and not even the thinnest down could be discovered on them. But otherwise the

their intestines and their other interior members were simple. they had several feet all round, and therefore could move in every direction according to pleasure. Their blood was endowed by a special force, and by the application of which all wounds were healed, and all members cut off (excepting such as existence depends on) again attached to the body. On this subject I remark that in Java great serpents occur, and centipedes which Jambulos may have meant by his small animals; s. Sir Stamford Raffles "The History of Java" I, p. 52 and p. 23, so that it is dubious whether the islanders who had become known to Jambulos tasted the flesh of the serpents, and made use of the food of the insects as a medicine.

1. Diodor. II 56, 2.6,

form of their bodies was distinguished by beauty and was harmonious in outlines. If the portion of the description of the bodily constitution of the islanders by Jambulos, thus far betrays no improbability, the ensuing portion cannot claim that praise. The nostrils were much wider than among the Greeks and the throat covers so to say touched each other¹. The tongues of these islanders possessed a very strange peculiarity, granted to them partly by nature, and partly improved upon by their own ingenuity. Their tongue was also in some measure twofold, and was still more split by art, so that it was double as far as the root. Thereby the islanders had come into the possession of a great variety of voices, and were able not only to pronounce all articulated human sounds, but also to imitate the cries of all birds, and all tones in general. It was most astonishing that these islanders were able to converse with two men at the same time, be replying to the one, and speaking to the other on subjects proposed to them. Jambulos had lastly also reported of them that they attained a very high age, some even that of one hundred fifty years without ever falling sick². Apart from

1. Instead of the lection *'akōs* prepared by Wesseing, no doubt *Sinōs* must be read as in C. Dindorf's edition.

2. Diodor. II, 57, 4. In contradiction to this statement Jambulos had in another passage (II, 57, 5) reported, that there was a prohibition by law for any one to live longer than one hundred years. Whoever reached that age died in the following manner. It was namely narrated that a plant grew on the and, and that whoever fell asleep under it, sank into a painless sleep in which he died. This law was perhaps current only among one portion of the island, so that the contradiction is perhaps to be laid only to the charge of the negligence of Diodorus.

the unmistakable exaggerations and fictions by which the above description of the bodily description by Jambulos is disfigured, it contains several data from which it is certain that it can refer only to the brown Polynarian and not to the negro like race of the Indian archipelago. To the latter only the statement might be applied that its nostrils are tolerably protuberant from the face, whereas among the former they never bulge out but are flat, short, and small¹. But as none of these two races has wide nostrils, and besides the report of Jambulos suffers from a highly suspicious improbability, this ground of the supposition falls away that he has described a race of Negro like inhabitants among the Indian islanders. In favour of the brown race on the other hand the absence of hair militates, the certainly somewhat exaggerated stature and the beauty of form, whereas the negro-like races are small and ugly. Hereto it must also be added that the latter everywhere persevere in their original barbarism, whereas in the island described by Jambulos we shall meet with a tolerably advanced state of civilisation. As Jambulos must have had some reason to attribute to these islanders an incredible linguistic familiarity and talents of imitating all tones and sounds, I supposed that among a portion of them two languages prevailed. For this supposition I preliminarily mention, that afterwards several reasons will appear for the assumption, that on the island of

1. S. above I, p. 463 foll. and John Crawford's *History of the Indian Archipelago* I, p. 19 foll.

the Indian archipelago now in question emigrants from anterior India had settled.

Of the religion and religious customs of the islanders, Diodorus and Jambulos had communicated the following details¹. They adored most, the all-embracing sky, the sun, and all celestial beings. At their festivals and in their prayers they addressed hymns and laudations to their gods, especially to the sun, to which they commended their islands and themselves. Corpses, they buried on the sea-shore during the ebb that the returning flood might cover and obliterate the grave-hills.

Although it is not possible from these scanty notices to form a certain idea of the religion, current on the island visited by Jambulos ; nevertheless, from the circumstance that after the sky the sun-god was the highest, a relationship with the peculiar system of gods prevailing in Java cannot be misunderstood, in which *Batāra guru* was at the head, and *Sūrya*, the sun god, was one of the three highest dieties after him². If this relationship be admitted, as seems necessary to me, Brahmans who had immigrated to a not yet ascertained island of the Indian archipelago, had brought to and propagated on it their own system of religion ; only it might be doubted whether or not some other supreme god had been placed at its head as *Batāra Guru*, because the origin of this deity cannot be pushed as far up as the time in which Jambulos lived³. Accordingly I suppose

1. Diodor. II, 59, 3, 7 and 8.

2. S. above II, p. 1052.

3. S. above p. 1053.

that *Vishnu* was the god whom Jambulos designated by the name of the sky, because Je was the oldest Brahmanic god worshipped in Java. Accordingly the hymns and prayers addressed to him must have been composed in the sacred language of the Indian priests; and this circumstance had probably induced Jambulos to attribute to all the islanders a linguistic skill belonging only to the Indian colonists, who spoke besides their mother tongue also that of the islanders. If Jambulos has really stated that at the festivals the gods were invoked in order to afford their protection to the islands, a kind of political alliance must have subsisted between the seven islands, which were according to his assertion situated near to each other. As far as the form of the interment is concerned, it differs from that at present in vogue among the peoples of the Indian archipelago, as well as from that in use among the inhabitants of anterior India, and must have been peculiar to the aborigines of the island, who zealously pursued fishing as shall afterwards appear. A similar custom occurs on the island Nias situated on the W. coast of Sumatra, where the cemeteries are in the sea on rocks overshadowed by trees; the coffins remain uninterred standing in the open air, in order to rot at the same time with the corpses¹.

If it be once fixed that Brahmans had settled on one of the islands of the archipelago, we must not

1. s. *ibid.* p. 1054.

2. Franz Iunghahn's: the Batta-countries on Sumatra I. p. 304.

be surprised that Jambulos mentioned that the inhabitants were addicted to all sciences, especially to astrology¹. The latter words receive their confirmation and explanation through the calendar² used in Java and in Bali. On these two islands also, we meet with a division of the year into twelve months of unequal length, the names whereof are taken from the ordinal numbers of the Javanese language, with the exception of the eleventh and twelfth month; the derivation of the two latter designation is not clear³. Herefrom it follows that this designation is a domestic one. It has at least at present a bearing on agriculture, and belongs to an embolic year of 300 days. By the side of this division a civil one subsists into 30 parts, which were called *Wuku* and consequently contained 30 days. Each day has a special name and regent; the first are indigenous and may be considered as ancient names of Javanese deities, because the two first are certainly such; the second names are taken from the Brahmanic doctrine

1. *Diodor.* II, 57. 3. According to *ibid.* II, 59, 8 the opinion prevailed among the inhabitants that the garlands of the reeds from which the food is obtained, or of the Sago palms become thicker with the growth of the moon, and thinner with its waning. According to the Indian view namely, the moon-god exerts an influence on the prosperity of plants; s. l. g. *Bhag. Gita.* XV, 13. By garlands no doubt the sharp thorns are to be understood which cover and protect the trunk of these palms, but fall off when they exceed six or more feet in height; s. Jona Crawford l. q. w. I. p. 384.

2. Hereon s. John Crawford l. q. w. I. p. 287 and R. Friedrich's *Preliminary lecture on the island of Bali* in the *Transactions of the Batavian Society for arts and sciences* XXIII. p. 8. foll. W. von Humboldt remarks *On the Kavi languages* I. 198 Note 1, that the derivation of the names of the 11th and of the 12th month *deshta* and *sado* or *Kasado* is entirely unknown to him.

of gods¹. At present this division serves other purposes than judicial astrology, and therefore the separate days are divided into six classes. As each of these divisions contains five days, the above division must be based on the week of five days usual in the Indian archipelago, the days whereof have special names, and are sacred to the five oldest of the nine sons of *Batāra Guru*². As the *Wuku* a designation of the division of the year into thirty parts, cannot be derived from the Sanskrit, I suppose this word to have been the Javano-Bali name of the twelve thirty-day-months of the year, which consisted of 300 days, each month on the other hand of six weeks. To the days of these weeks the Javanese had given special names, the signification whereof is not clear, whereas the names of the single days have been taken from the ancient deities indigenous in Java. This subdivision of the year

1. The first enumeration occurs in H. J. Domi's *Remarks on the Tiger mountains in Trans. of the Batav. Soc.* G. XIII p. 309 and afterwards in Raffles l. q. w. I, p. 476 further in John Crawford l. q. w. p. 293 and in Friedrich l. q. w. p. 52. The two first names *Sinto* and *Landap* belong to divine female beings of the oldest Javanese legend; s. above II, p. 1025. According to W. Von Humboldt's remark l. q. w. p. 196 note 2. *buku* means in proper Malay strictly joints, further knots and interstices in the Bamboo-reed, by which is subdivided into regular cavities accordingly the word may figuratively have been applied to a section of time. The derivation of the Malay *Buka* to open, and of the Javanese *Buta* to uncover from the Sanskrit word *Buka*, hole, cavern, suffers the difficulty that in this sense it cannot be derived from Sanskrit.

2. Friedrich l. q. w. p. 51 and Raffles l. q. w. I, p. 475. With the former the name are *pahing*, *pruan*, *vage*, *Kalenna* and *manis*; with the latter the last day is also called *lage*, or according to John Crawford l. q. w. I, p. 290 *laggi*. According to him the Javanese assumed a mystic relation of these names to the colours and division of the horizon,

the Brahmans found existing who settled at Java, and they imparted to it a relation to their mythology and astrology by associating their own gods with the indigenous deities of the *Wuku* days, and by dedicating the days of the week to beings of their own mythology. The latter may have taken place only after the year 318 after Chr. because only since that Batâra Guru had become known to the Javanese Brahmans ¹, but the first much earlier, because already before the beginning of the Christian era astrology had originated in India and a decided influence on the destinies of men had been ascribed to the planets ². That I am justified in attributing the above transformation of the Javanese calendar by Indian priests who had immigrated to India from Java; the legend prevailing in Bali that the calendar thereof is of Indian origin, demonstrates ³. The calendar thus transformed and enriched with Indian additions the Brahmans brought from Java to the island which Jambulos visited, and his assertion that the inhabitants of it specially studied astrology is justified if it be not understood of the islanders in general, but only of the Indian priests sojourning among them.

The description by Jambulos, of the alphabet there used, I have already explained on a former occasion, and I have shown that it can be elucidated only if we assume the Indians to have brought their

1. s. above II, p. 1046 and 1056.

2. „ „ II p. 1120.

3. Friedrich 1. q. w. p. 52.

complete alphabet to that island, and that they have made use of it in writing their own books, but that they have at the same time fitted it on to the language less rich in vowels which prevailed on the island¹. At present I may confirm this opinion yet only by the circumstance, that as hymns and prayers were addressed to the gods worshipped on that island it cannot be doubted of them that they were at least partly composed in the Sanskrit language, because the latter had been introduced by the Brahmans settled in Java, and were thence propagated to the island now in question. Hereto must be added, that according to the only admissible acceptance of his report which Jambulos gave on the linguistic skill of the inhabitants, two languages were current among them².

Most deserving of notice is that portion of the extract made by Diodorus from the book of Jambulos, which treats of the constitution of these islanders. It is true, it gives but an imperfect information about them, which is rendered still more so partly by the misunderstandings and corruptions of Jambulos himself and partly by the inaccuracy of Diodorus; the extract suffices however to determine the general state of the constitution and to sketch its outline.

The entire population of the island was divided into guilds and castes or communities; the assertion that only four hundred members were admitted

1. S. above II. p. 1059 and 1061.

2. S. above p. 260.

into assembly must refer to the sub-division, because unless the population of this island was very small, the larger communities must have consisted of more than four hundred members¹. The supreme direction of affairs was entrusted to only one man as to a king, to whom all the other members were bound to yield the same obedience; as soon as he was purported to have reached the one hundred and fiftieth year of his age, he was by the laws compelled to abandon his dignity and his life, and the next in age succeeded him.

Among the various divisions of the population a mutual distribution, as Diodorus expresses himself, took place alternately; some pursued fishing, others trades and arts, again others occupied themselves with the other wants of their fellow-citizens, and lastly others administered the public affairs during a certain period, and only the grandees were not subject to this duty. Also with reference to food a similar change is said to have prevailed; namely all persons did not at the same time eat the same victuals; but on certain days fishes and birds or vegetables, such as olives and the simplest greens. One consequence of these legal ordinances was that the inhabitants of the island, although blessed with abundant gifts by the liberality of nature, enjoyed them only with moderation and abstained from luxury; they scorned cooks and ate not more than

1. *Diodor* II, 57, 1. 58, 6, and 59, 5 and 6. As this author designates (II, 58, 1.) the Indian castes by *Sústama* the word must have the same meaning also in the present case

was necessary¹. Their food consisted of roasted and cooked meat ; which was probably of birds because they were given to bird-catching. Further, the sea provided them with a great variety of fishes. That they fed also on vegetable products has been mentioned already.

If hitherto the statement of Jambulos does not suffer from improbabilities but only from misunderstandings and corruptions, the same cannot be said of the remainder thereof². The islanders did not marry their wives but had them in common, as well as the sons born from them, who were therefore embraced and cherished with the same love by all men. The nurses frequently exchanged the very young boys so that their own mothers could no longer recognise them. As hereby ambition was prevented, the islanders spent their lives in the greatest concord and without inclination for rebellion. In each caste a peculiar kind of large birds was maintained, in order to investigate the natural capacities of the boys, who were placed on the shoulders of these birds. If they suffered themselves to be carried through the air by the birds, they were educated; but if they began to vomit, and got frightened, they were thrown away as such who could not live long, and had but little mental capacity. Lastly, there was a law for adults, that every one crippled or deformed by corporeal infirmities be condemned to lose his life.

1. Diodor. II, 59, 1 and 2.

2. Diodor. II, 58, 1 and 5, and 59, 4.

The above representation of the constitution current on the island calls forth three remarks, the objects whereof will be the division of the population, the rules about the victuals, and the relations of the wives and sons. If in the critique of the statement of *Jambulos* concerning this constitution which has come down to us only in a very abridged form, I take the Indian code of laws for my scale, I think I am justified in doing so, because I think I am able to demonstrate that the island visited by *Jambulos* is Bali where the Indian caste-system yet subsists, whilst it already before existed in Java, from which island it was, like other Indian institutions, carried to Bali¹. Now as far as the division of the population is concerned, nothing is so repugnant to the Indian law as a change of occupations and of castes, and accordingly I do not hesitate to assert, that a misunderstanding must have mislead *Jambulos*, and I assume that the Indian caste-system had been introduced on the said island. It is self-evident that the scanty extract from the book of *Jambulos*, composed by Diodorus compels us, *ab initio* to give up any attempt of establishing a complete enumeration of castes found existing in Bali by *Jambulos*; but it will still be possible to point out a few of the castes with certainty. As the caste-system can have been established in Bali only by Brahmans, it follows herefrom already, that the chief Indian caste existed on it. To it the study of astrology as well as the performance of sacrifices must be attributed. It no doubt possessed books in its sacred language; but

1. s. Friedrich I. q. w. p. 48.

of what kind these were it would be idle to try to determine, the merchants, the tradesmen and the artists of Bali were probably Indians, because the older inhabitants of the island had not yet so far progressed in their own civilisation as to be able to carry on commerce, arts and trades which were not of the simplest kind.

As liberal and bountiful nature had there produced the plants serving for the food and raiment of man without his co-operation, it is probable that the Balinese were already before the arrival of the Brahmans acquainted with the use of such plants for the above purposes. Therefore the Brahmans left to them agriculture when they established the constitution. According to Indian laws the agriculturists and merchants belong to the third or *Vaiçya*-caste, but the tradesmen and artisans to the mixed ones; but as the latter ones were unknown in Java, and therefore probably did also not exist in Bali¹, we may suppose that in Bali tradesmen and artisans were comprised in the third caste which contains also the agriculturists and the merchants. On account of the low position ascribed in the Indian code of laws to the *Mārgavas* or hunters and *Kaivartas* or fishermen² we may suppose that in Bali the fowlers and fishermen who were no doubt aborigines, were lowered to the caste of the Cūdras, although among these at present no division exists which pursues the catching of birds and fishes. It only yet remains to answer the question, whether

1. s. above II, p. 817 and p. 819 and Friedrich I. q. w. p. 15.

2. s. above I, p. 630 note 2.

also the second caste or that of *Kṣatriyas* existed in Bali, and if this was the case, whether it was formed of Indians or of natives. As Jambulos speaks of men, who were obeyed so to say like kings by the members not of every caste as Diodorus expresses himself but of every Guild¹, there can scarcely be a doubt that in Bali there were princes and a warrior-caste. The former were probably the chieftains of the *Suku*, the races or tribes, because we meet in many nations of the Indian archipelago with such a division into tribes with their chieftains². At present only those few *Kṣatriyas* yet exist in Bali who derive their origin from *Deva Agung* the king of Magapahit, who had after the destruction of this kingdom in the year 1475 settled in Bali, and had divided this island among his chief warriors; most of the princes on it are not descendants of the royal family but *Vaiçyas*³. As the older history of Bali is just as good as unknown, and the above-mentioned event falls into a much later time than that in which Jambulos became acquainted with this island, nothing hinders us to suppose that the princes of those times in Bali, were descendants of the older reigning families. For the more ancient occurrence of a mighty warrior-dynasty

1. s. above p. 264.

2. e.g., among the Battas in Sumatra and the Malays, s. Fraser Junghahn's *The Batta-countries in Sumatra* II, p. 293 and p. 347.

3. Friedrich I. q. w. p. 21 and p. 25 and on the date concerning the destruction of Magapahit, s. Ed. Dulaurier *List of the countries belonging to the Javanese empire of Madjapahit when it was destroyed* in the *Journ. As.* IV. Ser. VII p. 547.

especially the circumstance speaks that on it there yet exists a Feudal constitution according to which it is the first duty of vassals to follow their feudal-lords in the war¹.

Of the data of Jambulos referring to the constitution, the first is not clear, the second is a misunderstanding, the third is improbable, and the majority incredible. Not clear is the statement that the officers who were entrusted with the administration of public affairs, were after a certain period of time obliged to lay down their offices, because it cannot be ascertained what kind of officers Jambulos meant; it must be a misunderstanding when he reported that only four hundred members were admitted to a community, because the number necessarily depended from the births and deaths occurring in the various families; improbable is the statement that every person mutilated or suffering from some bodily infirmity was obliged to lose his life; lastly right down incredible is the assertion that a chieftain was after completing the one hundred and fiftieth year of his life compelled to lose his life.

In the rules concerning food to determinations are to be distinguished, namely that not all the islanders held their meals at the same time, as well as that a fixed arrangement had been introduced with reference to the various victuals. Against the first decision no objection can be raised because it was natural that e.g., fowlers and fishermen should eat at other periods of the day than artists, merchants

1, Friedrich I. q. w. p. 43.

and agriculturists. The second decision on the other hand suggests the suspicion that probably Brahmans did not admit the flesh of birds and fishes as food for themselves, and that throughout the whole year as want of vegetable food occurs in Bali. Accordingly I suppose the inaccurate Diodorus has muddled up two distinct statements of Jambulos into only one, and that the latter had reported, that on certain days, for instance, on festivals, certain victuals were prescribed, and that among the castes a certain diet was prevailing and dominant by ancient usage which was afterwards confirmed by law, which diet namely consisted among the Indian colonists and the native agriculturists of dishes from the produce of the vegetable world; among the fowlers of the meat of the birds caught by them, and among fishermen of fishes.

Thirdly, what Jambulos relates of the relations of the wives and their sons on the island of Bali, is simply to be rejected as a disfigurement of the truth. He had applied the doctrines of *Plato* concerning the State, to the constitution of Bali, and had developed them in a peculiar manner. In it namely community of wives was to prevail; fathers were to renounce to the permanent possession of a spouse and children, and to be contented to love all the children, that might have been begotten by them according to the time of their birth, as their own, and to be respected by them in return as their fathers; even mothers were to feed now this and now another new-born child. The directors of the State were to have the authority to pick out infants begotten by

bad parents, or suffering from a sickly constitution, and to transfer them from the class of the guardians into that of tradesmen, as well to separate among the adults such as were incurably sick, and to withdraw all medical aid from persons who could merely support life, if it could not restore to them healthy strength¹.

My reasons for the assertion that the island in which Jambulos sojourned during seven years in Bali, are the following: The first is the fact that on this island and in Java we are able to point out the caste-system; but the size given by Jambulos namely the entire circumference of 145 g.m. does not fit Java; this number is too large for Bali and too small for Java, because the latter island has an extent from W. to E. of about 9030' or as it is situated under the 5th degree of S. Lat. of about 140 g. m. It is true the entire circumference of the former island amounts only to about 45 g. m. but approaches the statement of Jambulos much more, because here as in other cases he is probably guilty of an exaggeration of the truth.

The second reason is the circumstance that the Sago-palm does not occur in the W. of the E. coast of Borneo, and consequently not in Java; whilst Bali has the same E. longitude as eastern Borneo.

Thirdly, as far as the report of *Jambulos* is concerned, that seven islands equidistant from each other were there, and of equal size; a glance at the map of the Indian archipelago shows that these

1. Ch. A. Brandis, *Hand-book of the history of Greek and Roman philosophy* II.1, p. 519 and p. 520

seven islands can only be Java, Bali, Lombock, Sumbawa, Flores, Celebes and Borneo, because Madura which is situated so near the coast of Java, can easily be considered as a part of the latter.

It is true among these islands Java, Borneo, and Celebes are considerably larger than the others, an inaccuracy which is of no great account, because *Jambulos* could not with his own eyes have seen these three islands; perhaps it is to be ascribed to the unreliable Diodorus and not to himself. A more eastern island than Bali cannot at all be thought of, because at that time the voyages of the Indians extended only a little further to the E. than Java, and therefore Indian influences on the more eastern islands cannot be supposed.

From the examination and elucidation of the reports of *Jambulos* on Bali it has resulted that he can certainly not be excused from the blame of having fallen into misunderstandings, and of having permitted himself to compose fictions, but that in the principal matter he is deserving of credit¹. For the history of the archipelago we are indebted to him for the important part, that already before the middle of the first Christian century Indian colonists had settled in Bali and somewhat earlier in Java, and had there introduced Indian laws and doctrines, the Indian writings and several bases of a higher civilisation.

1. It may also be a fiction that *Jambulos* began his return-voyage in the same ship in which he had arrived in Bali. This however is indifferent, because at that time already connections must have existed between the country on the Ganges and the Indian archipelago.

At present we are entitled to push the Indian colonies in the Indian archipelago up into a much earlier period, than the beginning of the Javanese era¹.

Now I return to Ptolemy in order to review the historical facts gained from his description of Indian countries. In this summary the remark previously made is to be repeated, that it was not Ptolemy's intention to write a political geography of India, but only to communicate a topographical representation of the country, and that in his designations of the separate portions of India he follows no uniform system, but gives them partly really indigenous names, and partly designates them only by the names of the nations inhabiting them². By the name *Kaspeiraioi* he designates not the seats of the Kaçmirian nation, but the kingdom subject to its king at that time. *Indoskythia* is not an indigenous name, but one given by the Greek to the portions of India governed by Indoskyths. Of the nations there will be no need of aducing the inconsiderable ones, unless there be reason to make an exception.

1. I have already before (above II, p. 1055) remarked, that it is scarcely admissible to set up the beginning of the Javanese era as a limit beyond which no immigrations into the Indian archipelago would have taken place. Of the older history of the island the present Balinese know nothing at all. The oldest Balinese legend refers to the time shortly after the destruction of Magapahet by the Muhammadans; s. in Franz Junghahn I. Q. W. II P. 336 the extract from an article by *Vandem Brook* in the *Periodical of Netherlandish India*. I. P. 158 foll. which is not accessible to me. The name of the island *Bali* is to be explained from the Sanskrit-word *Bolin* and is said to designate the force and strength of the nation inhabiting it; S. Friedrich I. Q. W. XXIII P. 3. Accordingly the three islands Java, Madura and Bali, colonised by Indians have Indian names.

2. I. above P. 95 and P. 113.

FR. HOSTEN'S COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED WRITINGS

(Communicated *by* the REV. FATHER
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HIGH SCHOOL, PATNA)

Printed Writings

1. Three Letters of FR. JOSEPH DE CASTRO, S. J., and the last year of Jehangir—1626-1627.

2. A letter of FR. FRANCISCO GODIN-WHO, S. J. from Western Tibet. 1626.

3. A letter of FR. A. DE ANDRADA, S. J. (Tibet 1627) and of FR. GASPAR DIAZ, S. A.

4. FR. A. MONSERRATE'S "Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius."

5. .. and Capt. Wilford.

6. Notes on Fr. Monserrats's Commentarius by H. Beveridge, and the Surat incident by R. G. Whiteway.

7. FR. A. MONSERRATE'S description of Delhi (1581), Firoz Shah's Tunnels.

8. " " " " S. J. on Salsette, Chorao, Divar, and the Molucas (1579).

9. " " " 's Account on Akbar.

10. FR. MANOEL DE FONSECA, S. J. IN AVA (Burma) 1613 1632.

11. FR. N. PIMENTA'S Annual Letter on Mogor (Goa 1599)

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14. FR. JEROME XAVIER'S Persian lives of the apostles.

15. Eulogy of FS. JEROME XAVIER'S S. J., missionary in Mogor (1549-1617)

16. Some letters of the same to his family (1593-1612)

17. Fray JOAO DA CRUZ, O. S. A. (1638)

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9. Fr. Henry Uvens *alias* Henry Busy, S. J. a missionary in MOGOR 1648-67

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2. The Murghihata Cathedral Inscription (pp. 100 half size).
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4. Ecrits de nos Pères du Bengal par ordre de noms (pp. 220 folio).
5. History of the Dacca Christians.
 - (a) pp. 47 typewritten by Mr. Stapleton.
 - (b) by H. Hosten partly from the C. H., partly MS. (pp. 207 folio).
6. Documents on Dacca Parishes (pp. 119 folio).
7. Some letters from Fr. C. Sapart (1861-63) transcribed from a Goethals Library MS. (pp. 55 folio).
8. Chandernagore Archives.
 - (a) 2 Copy-books of 76 and 19 pages respectively
 - ((b) pp. 352 folio plus permit of the Imperial Record Office.
9. Extracts from Ancient Travellers (pp. 41 folio).

Imperial Record (Dep. 1761-1785 (pp. 95 f.).
On Burma and Pegu (pp. 133 folio).
10. The Belgian Jesuits in Bengal, *viz.*,

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5. **Carew vs. Fre Lorenzo dos Milagres** 22
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 16. St. Vincent's Home Kidderpore 27 pp.
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7. Printed Matter on the Holy Shrine of St. Thomas.

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1. Indices to C.H.I., B.C.H. Indo. F.C.,
 Precis Historiques, Bode, Pastoral Gazette Bombay,
 Litterae Annuae pp. 129 folio.

2. Jesuit, (Indian Carnatic; Teluge) Biblio-
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3. Jesuit publications in the Vernacular :
 Circular 17 pp. f. Text pp. 50 f.

4 Persian, Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu. An
 essay in French pp. 108 f.

5. Jesuites Belges et Langues natives 9 copy-
 books full.

6. English and Latin publications of the
 Bengal Mission 58 half pages.

7. Earliest printing in India 341 pp. f.

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Capuchin Documents.—

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O.M.C. Lahore on the Capuchin Missions in Tibet, Nepal, and Bettiah. 30 pp.

2. Excerpts from Fr. John Chrysostom's *Indice delle Staterie concernenti la Missions Allahabad contenente nella Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuchinorum* 89 pp.

3. *Missio Apostolica Tibetano-Seraphica. Pondicherry.*—

1. *Archives de Pondicherry* pp. 215.

2. MS. de la Mission Catholique de Pondichery. Vol. II. Morceau No. 4—contient—4fascicules copies Religion des Malabars Gentile on l'on fait voir les pratiques des Pères Jesuites qui font mission parmi ces peuples.

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NOTES ON A TIBETAN ACCOUNT OF BENGAL *

By S. C. SARKAR.

[*N. 40 contd.*] There was a Samudra-Gupta Vihâra in Kâsmîra (Dpag. bsam., 111); it may have been endowed by Kumâra-Gupta after this campaign.

41. The following additional incidental information about these $14+4=18$ Pâla kings is given by

Dpag. bsam. [pp. 82, 85, 104,
P. 9, l. 12, 'Pâla 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115,
kings'. 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 126,

127, 137, 144]:—Gopâla worshipped the goddess Cupdâ (1) in youth, before he became king. He *founded* Narendra (Nalendra)-Vihâra.—Acc. to some authorities, Devapâla was son of Gopâla ; acc. to others he was the son of Gopâla's queen [Deddâ-devî, daughter of king Bhadra, as known from other sources,—Bhadra evidently being the elected king 'Bha', 'Bhadra', or 'Râja-bhadra' of MMK.] by a Nâga (paramour) ; acc. to some others again, Devapâla's grandson (or nephew) was Dharmapâla. [Acc. to Bu. ston., Devapâla was Dharmapâla's son and Gopâla's grandson]. Devapâla, after his

* Contd. from the June 1941 issue, J.B.O.R.S.

conquest of Vârendra-bhûmi, established the great Somapurî-Vihâra therein (i.e., in Puṇḍravardhana or Mahâsthân).—Râsapâla (prob. = Râja, or Râjya-pâla), ruled in Magadha (only) for 12 years. In the time of Dharmapâla, Pâliputra was the capital. Sâlapura (or Sâlaputra) in the Prâcî was also capital of Dharmapâla. Daṅga-dâsa, 'Kâyastha-vṛddha', was writer-secretary to K. Dharmapâla. Dharmapâla *founded* the great Vikramaśîla-Vihâra on the hills on the South and right bank of the Gaṅgâ in the north(-east) part of Magadha. He was a contemporary of King Khri. sron. deahu. bṣaṅ. of Tibet who flourished in the 8th century, and of Śakrâyudha, whose territories included Prayâga, Mathurâ and Dîli. His 'guru' was Simha-bhadra, a kṣatriya, author of a commentary on Aṣṭa-sâhasrikâ, and a scholar of the Trikaṭuka Vihâra of west Râḍha. In Devapâla and Dharmapâla's times, Dhîmân and Vîtapâla were noted sculptors, stone-image-makers, casters and painters. Dharmapâla extended his dominions up to the Vindhyas to the South, Dîli to the West and Jâlandhara to the North. Dharmapâla died on the banks of the Âdi-Gaṅgâ (prob. at the mouth of the Ganges, like Gopâla,—*vide* MMK.,—or like Caṇaka,—*vide infra*).—During the minority of Dharmapâla's son Vanapâla, his son-in-law Masu-rakṣi(ta) was Regent (or practically King), of the Pâla empire for 8 years, and was a recognised master of Political Science and Economics and Law (Râja-nîti), whose works are preserved in part in Tibetan translation in the Bstan.ahgyur. collection. [It would be interesting

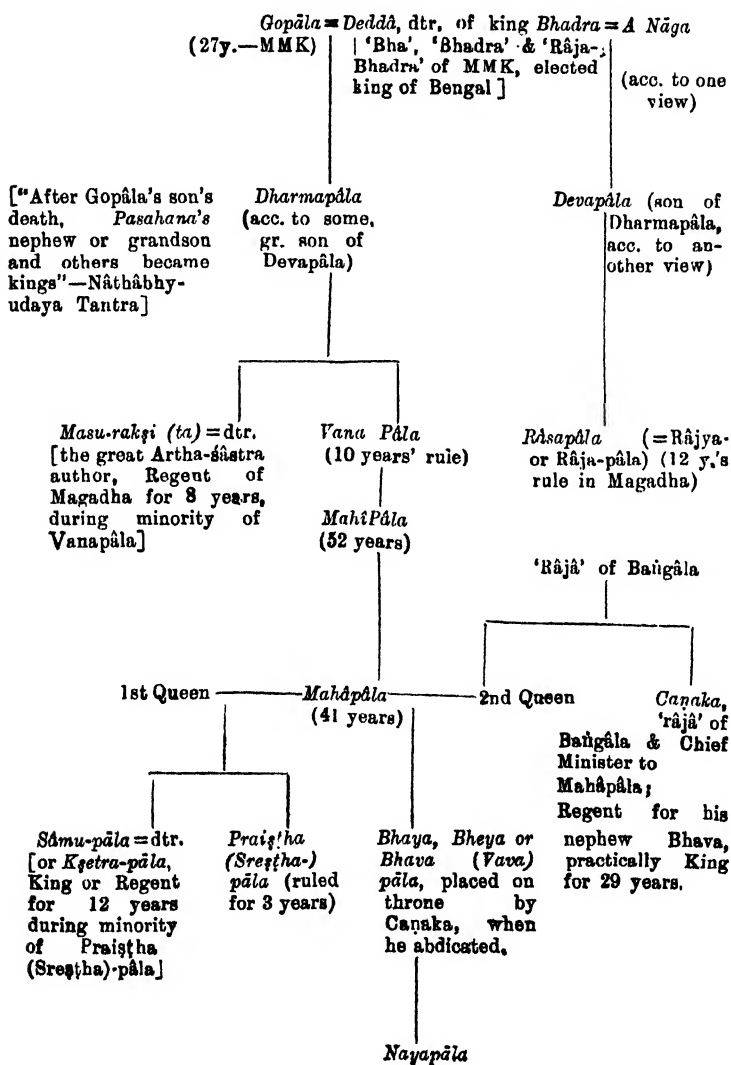
to trace these writings out and translate and critically edit them ; it is likely that Masurakṣita's political writings might show how far the Kauṭilyan or other traditions of polity were continued or modified in the 8th & 9th centuries, and whether the remarkable political consciousness of Bengalis in the period 581 to 751 is reflected in his writings a generation after]. Vanapāla ruled for 10 years (incl. or excl. of the 8 years' minority ?),—during which period flourished the logician Dharmottar-ācārya.—Vanapāla's son Mahīpāla reigned for 52 years. His contemporary was the Buddhist sage and philosopher Jñāna-kīrti (or Jñāna-datta). Mahīpāla received instruction in Tāntrik Buddhism at the Ocayana Vihāra.—A contemporary of his last years was Viṭovā-ācārya, prob. the same as the one who introduced (or re-introduced) the Kāla cakra Tantra from Śambhala (Balkh).—Mahīpāla's son Mahāpāla reigned for 41 years ; he established the Urupāsa Vihāra, a branch of the great Oṭantapurī-Vihāra ; he also erected the Vihāra of Bṛkṣapurī [Has it any reference to Bṛkṣa Candra o. Candra dynasty, or only to the sacred 'Bodhi'tree ?]. Mahāpāla's sons being minor, his son-in-law Śāmapāla ruled as king for 12 years [In the list given (in the text above) of the rulers who intervened in the midst of the Pāla kings of the direct line, Śāmu-pāla's name does not occur, but instead we have Kṣetra-pāla ; apparently Śāmu was his nickname, and Kṣetra was the assumed crown-name]. After him the eldest son of Mahāpāla by his first queen, named Praiṣṭha (or Śreṣṭha)-pāla, ruled only for 3 years. His contemporary was

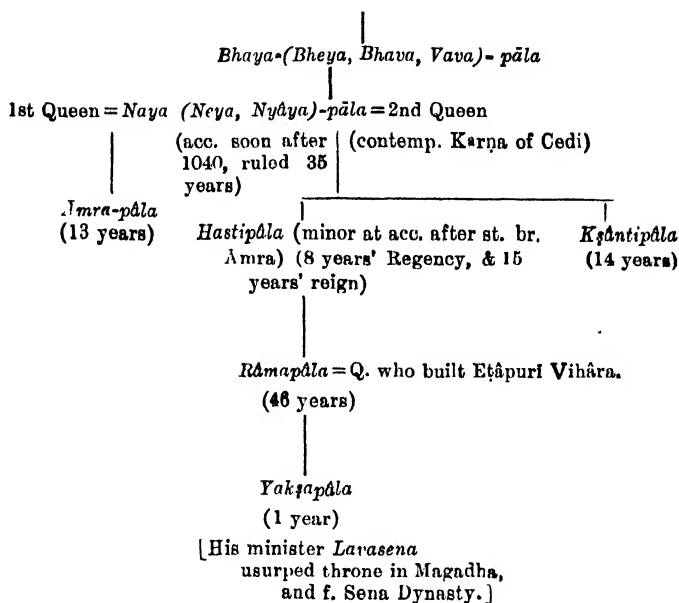
the Brāhman-Buddhist sage Jñāna-pāda; another contemporary was Kama (or Kamala)-rakṣita, tutor to Atīśa, etc., who drove out 500 Muslim brigands from Pāla territories. After him, the second son of Mahāpāla by his second queen, Bhaya (Bheya, Bhava or Vava) by name, being still a minor (prob. an infant),—this minor prince's maternal uncle Caṇaka became Regent, or ruled as king, for 29 years. Caṇaka was a 'rājā' of Baṅgāla [governor-'rājā', or prince of a local subordinate dynasty which rose in East Bengal after the passing of the Candras, 581 ?], and he became chief minister to the Pāla Emp. Mahāpāla (his sister's husband). During his Regency of 29 years, there were Turuṣka invasions of India, and the 'rājā' of Baṅgāla (i.e., the one after Caṇaka) revolted. Subsequently Caṇaka abdicated, placed his sister's son Bhavapāla on the throne, and retired to Bhāṭī at the mouth of the Gaṅgā (i.e., Gaṅgā-Sāgara), and became noted as a Tāntrik Buddhist teacher [cf. Kapāla-kunḍalā of Bankim Chatterjee for Tāntrik survivals in that region.]. During Caṇaka's regency flourished Amogha-vajra the Buddhist sage,—Amogha-vajra the Middle, between Amogha-vajra Sr. and Amogha-vajra Jr.,—also Līla-vajra, disciple of Lalita-vajra Jr. Bhayapāla's son Nayapāla (Neyā, Nyāya)-pāla became king shortly after Atīśa left for Tibet (c. 1040), and ruled for 35 years,—during which time Puṇya-śrī- (Puṇyākara-) gupta, a Brāhmaṇa of Mālava, was abbot of both Oṭanta-purī and Vikrama-śīla; Nayapāla was a contemporary of Karṇa, king of the lands to the W. of Magadha; his 'guru' was Vajrāsana(ī) Sr., and he was a contemporary

of both Amoghavajra Senior and Junior.—Nayapâla's son by his first queen, Âmrâpâla, reigned for 13 years ; he was contemporary of Ratnâkara-gupta, high priest of Vajrâsana.—Hastipâla, second son of Nayapâla by another queen, was a minor at succession to his step-brother Âmrâpâla, and there was a regency for 8 years ; he ruled for 15 years (prob. excluding the 8 years' regency) ; he was succeeded by his (own) brother Kṣântipâla, who ruled for 14 years. [He perhaps usurped the throne which rightfully was to have gone to Hastipâla's son Râmapâla,—for in the list of our text, the name of Kṣântipâla occurs amongst those four who intervened in the line of Pâla kings].—Râmapâla, son of Hastipâla, ruled for 46 years ; his queen erected the Eṭā-purī Vihāra ; his elephant was named Bhanâdala ; he was king of Magadha (also). As a prince he was a disciple of a Brâhmaṇa Buddhist teacher at Vikrama-śīla, but was expelled from that Vihāra by Dīpaṅkara-Srī-Jñāna.—Yakṣapâla, son of Râmapâla ruled only for 1 year. Thereafter his minister Lava Sena usurped the throne, and the Pâla Dynasty waned in Magadha from that time, Lava-Sena founding the Sena Dynasty.—While the Pâlas began to decline after the dethroning of Yakṣapâla by Lava-Sena, Abhayāṅkara-gupta, a kṣatriya Tāntrik Buddhist sage of Baṅgâla, born in Jhârākhaṇḍa adjacent to Oḍiṣā, deemed later as an avatâra of Tashi Lama in Tibet, flourished as abbot of Vikrama-śīla ; Abhayāṅkara's disciple Dharmākara-gupta was a contemporary of the Sena kings. Contemporary with this beginning of the fall of the

Pālas was also Buddha-kîrti, the high priest of Vajrāsana.

From the above details the ff. genealogical table of the Pālas may be drawn up :—





The total of the regnal periods of the above 18 (14+4 Interveners) named Pāla rulers (*plus* 1 unnamed Regency in Hastipāla's minority), comes to 326 years *plus* the unspecified reigns of Dharmapāla, Devapāla and Bhavapāla,—which latter must have taken up a century (Dh°, 45+D°, 40+Bh°, say 15=100); so that the total of the Pālas=426 years, from 751 (Gopāla's election, —*vide infra*) to 1177,—which last is the latest likely date of Lavasena's usurpation and foundation of the Sena Dynasty [as a *Magadhan* dynasty].

42. Elsewhere (Dpag. bsam., p. 121) it is stated that "in the royal line of the Soma-vamśī Senas,

P. 9, l. 14, 'Sena from Lavasena, serially, Kāsa-sena, Mañitasena, Rathikasena, Lavaṇ (gaṇ) sena, Buddhasena, Haritasena, up to

Pratītasena, became (kings), and held sway for over 100 years"; then follows a curious sentence about dynasties of South and East Bengal after Lavasena's usurpation: "About the royal families of the South and East, however, even by a summary inspection (it is clear that) from amongst many doubtful written documents, only one can be established." Our text here names 4 of the 8 Sena kings noted in another context. The date of Pratītasena may be inferred from the ff. datum (Dpag. bsam. p. 122-3): "From the time of Pratītasena, after about 100 years, in Bhaṅgala, one Cagala-rāja became very powerful and extended his sway up to Dīli in the West, and both Hindus and Turuṣkas obeyed him; while he was brāhmaṇical his queen favoured Buddhism, and she patronised repairs to the ruined monasteries of Vajrāsana and Nālendra, sp. to the 9-storied 'gandhola' at Mahābodhi whose towers were damaged.—Since his death up to the middle of this present Earth—Dragon year (*i.e.* 2nd year of the 13th cycle=1747-'8—when 'Dpag.bsam.' was completed), it is well-known that 300 years have passed; shortly after (the death of Cagala-rāja) the Dharma-rāja Mukunda-deva of Oḍiśa became powerful over Magadha and favoured Buddhism."—Mukunda died c. 1567; 300 years before 1747 is 1447; shortly after 1447 the Kings of Orissa ending with Mukunda rose to power; when did he rule over Magadha and patronise Buddhism there (and in Orissa)? Cagala-rāja of Baṅgāla died c. 1447; 100 years before that is the date of Pratītasena's death, *i.e.*, c. 1347. So the Sena kings' dates are

between 1177 (Lavasena's usurpation) to 1347—a period of 170 years.—The Cagala-rāja who was king equally of Hindus and Turki Muslims in Bengal and had political relations with regions to the West of Bengal, is probably the same as Rājā Gaṇeśa, who was in power (as Regent or as king) from 1396--1414, his son Jalāl ruling from 1414 to 1431 and grandson Shamsuddin Ahmed from 1431 to 1442; Gaṇeśa had political relations and wars with Jaunpur; the Muslim son of Gaṇeśa is partly explained by his Buddhist mother,—if Cagala=Gaṇeśa. (*Vide* further details in my paper for the Ind. Hist. Rec. Com., 1941).

43. Prob. refers to Kalat-sūri or Kalachuri (Haihaya) dynasty, preceding the early Cālukyas; the introduction 'Kala, etc.', P. 9, l. 16, Kala'. means that here the names are taken from 'Kala' and other dynasties.

44. Mayūra, f. of the Kādamba dynasty seems intended; 'citra-lekha' or 'citra-varṇa'='mayūra'; the Tib. 'par.' in the name=P. 9, l. 16, 'Cit-ra-varṇa'. print, mark; or 'par' may be taken to be a Vern. Indian word='parṇa', in which case 'citra-parṇa' also='mayūra.' Mayūra prob. rose to power c. 340-360 A. D.

45. I.e., Candra-Svāti Sāta-vāhana; the Tibetan words mean 'white beautiful moon'. P. 9, l. 17 'Stāla-vāhana'.

46. This is rather Mahendra of Piṣṭapuram or of Kośala, than Mahendra=Kumāragupta I,—though he must have had some territories in the Peninsula (Vin-dhyan and Narmadā regions), and though Samudragupta seems to be referred to later on here as one of the Peninsular kings.

47. This is Kîrtivarman I, Early Câlukya. The Tibetan words here might also be rendered

P. 9, l. 17, 'Kîrti- as 'the great general'; cf. his
varman'. title 'Puru-*raṇa-parākrama*'.

48. Probably Kîrtivarman II, the last Early

P. 9, l. 18, 'Val- Câlukya, whom Dantidurga refers
labha'. to as Vallabha; but other Early
Câlukyas were also generally

known to outsiders as Vallabhas (or Balhâr Râos),
e. g., Pulakesin the Great; but he is referred to
below also, as 'Sukeśa' or 'Mañjukesā' along with
his eldest son.

49. Either Kâmadeva I (son of Kîrtideva),

P. 9, l. 18, 'Kâma.' 1180-1217, or Kâmadeva II (son
of Mallideva, son of Kâmadeva I),
acc. c. 1260,—in the line of Taila II and Mallikâr-
juna (Later Câlukyas).—It is possible to supply
alternative equivalents: e.g., Kâmârṇava, E. Gāṅga
king of Kalinga (c. 1142), or Anaṅga (= Bhîma).—
The context, however, requires that a king nearer
to Pulakesin II is meant. From this standpoint the
Tib. name should be taken to mean, 'Bhogî';
the king referred to being Bhogî-varman, the last
of the Kādambas, conquered by Pulakesin II.

50, 50. Or Mañju-Kesa, or Pula-Kesin, i. e.,

P. 9, l. 18, 'Sukeśa', Pulakesin II, since Candrasena,
& 'Candrasena.' i. e., Candrāditya, was the eldest
son of P°. II.

51. The text has 'bu. ŋa.', wrong for either

P. 9, ll. 19 & 20, 'bu. ŋa. wa.' or 'bu. ŋan.' =
'Sahkara-siṃha' & 'fierce son' and 'unfortunate son'
'Buddha-śruca'. respectively,—both true as is
known from other sources;

the title 'Vyāghra' however probably belonged to

the father, and the son was called 'Simha'; 'Śruca' is not clear ; perhaps it is a misprint for 'Simha'.—The reference is to Śaṅkara-gaṇa and his son Buddha-râja, Kalat-sûris of Malwa, Gujrat and N. W. Deccan, c. 570—c. 610 ; Maṅgaleśa, early Cālukya, conquered N. W. Deccan from Buddha-râja c. 601,—hence he was 'unfortunate'.

52. 'Skanda' is better. Not Skanda-Gupta ; the reference is rather to Skanda-varman (or Śiva-Skanda-varman, Vijaya-Skanda-varman, Skanda-Śiṣya), son of Bappa-deva (or Vîra-Kîrca) (c. 225—250) and a Nāga princess, (possibly Chuṭu-Nāga),—the 2nd Pallava king and the first extender of Pallava dominion from the Godâvarî to the Southern regions. It seems there was another Skanda-varman, successor of Viṣṇugopa at Kāñcî, between 350 and 375 A. D.

53. Here probably the Gupta conqueror (or invader) of the Peninsula, P. 9, l. 21, 'Sam-udra-vikrama.' Samudra-Gupta is referred to ; in that case 'Samudra' and 'Vikrama' might also be taken separately at referring to S°. -G°. and C°. -G. II. Vikramāditya (practically overlord of the contemporay Vākāṭaka king) ; this seems plausible from the next following name of Pravara-râja. It is however possible to take 'Samudra-vikrama' (i. e., its Tibetan equivalent) as a translation of the Early Kerala royal title of 'Vanawar' [original of 'Vânara'?], used by at least 2 great kings noted for their sea power.

54. The translation 'Pravara-râja' (i.e., Pravara-sena) is preferable to P. 9, l. 21, 'Râj-
endra'. 'Râjendra' (i.e., R.^o-Cola), owing to the preceding 'Samudra-Vikrama'; but if this latter = a *Kerala* 'Vanawar', then 'R.^o-Cola' is preferable. It is also possible to take the Tibetan equivalent as a translation of 'Agra-râja', in which case the reference would be to the Buddhist King 'Aga-râju' of N. Dâhâla of Bharhut fame, in 'Śuigânam râje'.

55. The second-half of the name in Tibetan means 'mukhya,' 'foremost'; from P. 9, l. 22, 'Mah-
endrapotra'. other sources we know of the name-form 'Mahendra-potra'; 'potra = foremost or 'mukhya', excellent. The reference is to Mahendra-potra or Mahendra-varman I, Pallava, the first great builder of the dynasty.

56. Rather Indra III, Râṣṭrakûṭa, than the Gupta kings Devarâja I & II P. 9, l. 22 'Indra'. (C.^o-G.^o II and Sk.^o-G.^o).

57. These Southern Dynasties referred to are :—Kalachuris, Kādambas, P. 9, l. 23, 'dy-
nasties.' Sâtavâhanas, Early Câlukyas, Pallavas (early and later), Vâkâṭakas, and Râṣṭrakûṭas; probably also Guptas, Colas, Keralas and 2nd century Dâhalas and 4th century South Kosalas.

58. 'Chos. rgyal.' (Puṇya(ka)-râja), 'Mthoñ.
ldan.' (Darśaka), The 4 princes P. 9, l. 26, 'Dar-
śaka'. of the House of Puṇyaka, desc. from Darśaka, are Suvâhu, Sudhanu, Mahendra and Camaśa,—workers for

the Doctrine (*vide* Chart *infra.*); details are given later in the text and notes.

59. The 4 princes 'from Aśoka' includes Aśoka, if the ref. is to Aśoka
 P. 9, l. 26, 'four Maurya ; in that case they are :
 princes.' Aśoka, Kuṇḍāla, Vitasoka, Indrasena (or Surasena),—as given in the text later on with details *re.* their work for Buddhism ; but if we suppose that a confusion has been made between the Śiśunāga (or Nanda) Aśoka and the Maurya Aśoka (as is commonly done), then these 4 names would be,—2 from the earlier Aśoka,—Mahâ-padma (Nanda) and Nanda (Dhana-Nanda ?), and 2 from the later Aśoka,—Vitasoka and Surasena (or Indrasena),—since Kuṇḍāla did not really reign, he abdicated, and his regnal period of 9 years occasionally given probably refers to his crown-prince period.—At the commencement of this text, the 4 princes descended from 'Aśoka' are named as above (Mahâpadma, Nanda, Vitasoka & Surasena), obviously mixing up the earlier and later Aśokas ; the same version occurs in MMK., and Jayaswal therefore tried to find identifications for all these 4 princes after Kâlâśoka,—which is a mistake.

60. The '7 Candras' have already been named in the text : Indra, Jaya, Dharma,
 P. 9, l. 27, 'ten'. Karma; Vigama, Kâma, Vimala ; the '9 Candras' would be the above *plus* Gopî & Lalita ; the '10 Candras' would be these *plus* the clearly famous Buddhist patron Śrî.

61. Since the Pâlas were generally patrons of Buddhism, the summary statement that 14 Pâlas were workers for the Doctrine may be accepted; but it is difficult to see how the 8 Senas could be so regarded; probably our author has taken from an ultimate Buddhist source which was contemporay with the Brâhmanically minded Senas, and which prudently, and for the sake of conventional form, painted the Senas in a different colour. Or probably our author has in mind the patronage of Buddhism by the Later Senas (of which he speaks elsewhere) from Buddha-Sena to Pratîta-Sena (c. 1203 or later to c. 1303 or 1347), and has therefore overlooked the anti-Buddhism of the Early Senas (down to Lakṣmaṇa-Sena).

62, 62. The promised description (of the $4+4+7$, 9 or $10+14+8=37$, 38 or 39 kings who worked for the Doctrine), is however not given in the text in due serial order.

Just a beginning is made, and then our author drifts into an account of Tântic Bauddha 'siddha-paṇḍitas'. The 3 kings of the 2nd dynasty of patrons, i.e., Mauryas 'from Aśoka' (including him, or following him) are, as already noted, Aśoka-Kuṇâla-Viśaśoka, or Kuṇâla-Viśaśoka-Indrasena,—and they were respectively 'siddha-paṇḍita', 'dâna-pati' and śîla-dhara'.

[*To be continued*].

CAPTURE OF THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, 1781. *

By KALIKINKAR DATTA

In the autumn of 1780 Holland joined the League against England in the course of the American War of Independence. This was followed by a declaration of war against the Dutch, and capture of their settlements, by England. It is known to us from some published works¹ and documents², how the Dutch settlements of Sadras, Pulicat and Negapatam in southern India were seized by the English by the end of the year 1781, and how Trincomali (Trincomalai) as well as Fort Ostenburg belonging to them on the island of Ceylon was captured by the British fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes on the 6th January, 1782^{2a}.

1. Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, p. 20 ; Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. IV, pp. 221-25 ; Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, p. 400.

2. Forrest, *Selections from State Papers Preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India*.

2a We read in the works of Fullarton and Thornton that the Dutch possessions in Ceylon were captured by the English by the end of 1781. But Mill writes that these were " taken by storm " on the 11th January, 1782 (op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 225). It is clear from a reference in *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William* 28th February, 1782, that these were actually captured on the 6th January, 1782. Mr.

* Based on unpublished records of the Imperial Record Department

Some records of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, which I am now engaged in studying with a view to preparing a thesis on Anglo-Dutch relations in India during the 18th and 19th centuries, contain profuse and important details regarding the capture of the Dutch settlements in Bengal and Bihar in 1781.

Sir Edward Hughes, having arrived a few miles to the southward of Madras on the 20th June, 1781, sent the following instructions to Captain Parr, Commander of His Majesty's sloop the *Chaser*, on the 22nd June: "His Majesty having been pleased to order in Council that reprisals be granted against the ships, goods and subjects of the States General of the United Provinces, so that His Majesty's ships shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels and goods belonging to the States General of the United Provinces or their subjects, or others inhabiting within any of the territories of the aforesaid States General and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within His Majesty's dominions.

You are therefore hereby required and directed to carry into execution His Majesty's said order with the utmost of your power by taking or destroying the ships, vessels, forts, towns,

Alexr. Rea. (*Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company* in the Presidency of Madras, p. 30) writes that Trincomali was captured by the English in 1782; but he wrongly asserts that it was "restored to the Dutch the following year".

1. Lord Macartney, appointed to the Government of Fort St. George, was on board the vessel (His Majesty's ship *Superb*) of Sir Edward Hughes, and he reached Madras on the 22nd June, 1781. Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 220.

goods, and effects of the States General of the United Provinces, their subjects or other inhabiting within any of the territories of the aforesaid States General, and to bring the same to the judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within His Majesty's dominions"¹. Captain Parr communicated to the Governor-General on the 2nd July, 1781, that Sir Edward Hughes had brought with him " despatches of consequence "², for the Governor-General some containing " accounts of a war with the States of Holland "³, and that he himself having received " orders to make reprisals on the Dutch " had captured four of their pilot sloops⁴.

Captain Parr's letter being placed by the Governor-General before the Council in Calcutta on the 3rd July, 1781, they decided on the same date that in view of the information it conveyed there were sufficient grounds " for considering the war between Great Britain and the States of Holland as ascertained and declared, although not in the usual terms and forms" and that "not an instant of time ought to be lost in carrying into execution the measures consequent of this information", that is, to capture all the settlements of the Dutch. On that very day, the Council in Calcutta wrote to Captain Charles Chatfield, commanding at Chandernagore : "You are hereby directed to proceed immediately with the

1. *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 3rd July, 1781.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

Force under your command to Chinsurah, to secure all the avenues of the Town both by land and by water, suffering none of the inhabitants to leave the place, nor any money, bullion or other effects to pass. Having done this you will march with a party to the Fort and demand from Mr. Ross, the Governor, the immediate surrender of it, together with the town and inhabitants. Whenever you shall have received the key of the Fort you will put Messers. Purling, Heatly and Adair, commissaries appointed for that purpose, into immediate possession thereof, as well as of the Town.

The Board cannot suppose that the Governor of Chinsurah will be so imprudent as to refuse obedience to the summons, having no force to enable him to offer any degree of resistance with effect, but if he should, you will in that case declare him charged with the responsibility of all the blood that may be unnecessarily split in consequence of such refusal and use your utmost endeavours with the force under your command to take possession of the Fort and Town and of the effects both public and Private.

The Board recommend to you to treat the inhabitants with every degree of tenderness and that you suffer no violence to be offered than is necessary to carry these orders into execution"¹. Each one of the commanding officers at the different stations of the Army were similarly instructed to take imme-

¹ *Chandernagore and Chinsurah Proceedings, 4th July, to 31st December, Vol. I,—Chandernagore, the 4th July, 1781 (I.R.D.).* Henceforth used in this article in the abbreviated form—*Cha. Chi. Pros.*

diate possession of the Dutch factories within their respective jurisdictions¹.

Messrs. Charles Purling, S. Heatly, Robert Adair and Mr. Henry Ramus, appointed commissaries on the part of the English Company's government to take charge of the fort and town of Chinsurah, received the following orders from the Council in Calcutta on the 3rd July: "You are in the first instance to take a particular account of the Money and Bullion in the Dutch Company's Treasury and afterwards proceed to the different Warehouses taking an Inventory of the effect in each, and in order to accomplish this you are to require from the present governor, Mr. Ross, particular accounts of the money, bullion, goods, etc. belonging to the Dutch Company, and the assistance of their servants in their separate departments. You will likewise demand from Mr. Ross an account of the advance which have been made by the Dutch for the provision of their Company's investment, what goods have been received and what are yet to be delivered.

You will use every endeavour in your power in concert with Captain Chatfield to secure all the principal native servants of the Dutch and their accounts.

It is the particular orders of the Board that you will allow the parole agreeably to the annexed from,²

¹ *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William, 3rd July, 1781.*

² Parole Form:—The Dutch Fort at Chinsurah and its Dependencies, with its stores, effects, and merchandises both public and private-belonging thereto, or contained in

to all the European inhabitants of the place of a superior order and keep the rest in close custody.

The Board authorize you to appoint whatever assistants you may think necessary to enable you to execute the Trust reposed in you". Further, the following circular letter was issued to the Committee of Revenue, the chiefs of the English factories of Patna, Murshidabad and Dacca, and the Resident at Balasore:— "You will therefore take inventories of all the money, bullion, and effects which may be found therein (Dutch factory), taking proper care to preserve them untouched and forward the same to

them having surrendered to the arms of the Hon'ble the English East Company of Great Britain in consequence of a summons to that effect by Captain Charles Chatfield, commanding a Regiment of the said Hon'ble Company at Chandarnagore, and it having been granted that such of the inhabitants of the United States who shall give their Parole of honour to demean themselves according to such orders as shall be enjoined them may remain in possession their houses until further orders.—I. of the said Fort and town of Chinsurah give my parole of honour neither directly or indirectly to do anything which may give offence, or do harm, to the said Hon'ble Company, or to the British Nation; I promise to be no wise concerned in, or be consenting to, the forcible or clandestine removal, diminution, or spoiling of any of the above mentioned stores, effects or merchandizes but will give immediate notice thereof to Messrs. Purling, Heatly and Adair.

Moreover I promise to surrender myself prisoner of war at Chinsurah whenever I shall be summoned, and till then to obey these and all other orders as shall be enjoined me by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council at Calcutta, to whom I hereby give this my Parole of honour. In presence of. .

These terms were granted and these restrictions enjoined by the Hon'ble the Governor General and Council in Calcutta and so to continue until further orders."

The same form, having changes only in place names was prescribed for men of the other Dutch factories in Bengal.

1. *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William, 3rd July, 1781.*

the Commissaries at Chinsurah, Messers. Purling, Heatly, Adair and Ramies, with whom you will correspond, following such instructions as they may think necessary to send you for future guidance. You will allow the parole agreeable to the accompanying form to all the European inhabitants of the place of a superior order and keep the rest in close custody''^{1a}.

Captain Chatfield having delivered the key of the Dutch Fort at Chinsurah to the Commissaries, they waited upon the Dutch Governor, John M. Ross. On perusal of their '*Instructions*' and of the '*Form of Parole*', Mr. Ross desired to have a copy of each of these. The Commissaries then held a meeting in a room at Mr. Ross's residence and wrote to him the following letter on the 4th July, 1781: "Agreeable to your requisition, we enclose you a copy of the Instructions we have received from the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council and of the Form they have prescribed, as a Parole to be executed by such of the gentry of Chinsurah as may be willing to avail themselves thereof, to enjoy their liberty and a quiet Residence, within the precincts of the Dutch Town. The Instructions will point out to you the necessary Information and papers which we require, to carry into execution the Directions of our Government, and we therefore request the favour of you to let us have, with as much expedition as you conveniently can, the following is an inventory of the Money, Bullion, Goods, etc. belonging to the Dutch

Company, supported by their accounts made up to the present day. Second, an account of the advances made by the Dutch for the provision of their Company's investment what goods have been received and what remain to be delivered. Third, a particular list of the European and other inhabitants of Chinsurah, natives of Bengal, specifying those who are considered of the rank of the Gentry, and the occupations and qualities of the rest. Fourth, a list of the principal native servants of the Dutch company, whom you will observe by our instructions we cannot permit to depart out of Chinsurah.. Captain Chatfield is by his instructions to secure private, as well as public, property" ¹. In reply to this letter, Mr. Ross communicated to the commissaries on the same day: " . . . I am willing to furnish you with every point you have mentioned thereby; only I request that the article concerning private property may be taken in a more favourable sense and that every one as well Company's servants, as the other Europeans and inhabitants and the rest of the natives may enjoy the preservation of their own property, also that all the Company's servants according to their stations, may have a salary until matters betwixt the two nations may be settled in Europe" ². In their letter to the Governor-General and Supreme Council in Calcutta of the same date, the Commissaries informed them of all that had passed between themselves and Mr. Ross. They further noted therein: "Mr. Ross has put into

1. Cha. Chi. Pros.—Chendernagore, 4th July, 1781.

2. *Ibid.*

our possession the keys of the Fort, the treasury and warehouses and has desired a day or two to adjust the accounts to the present day assuring us that upon his parole of Honor, he will deliver us the last piece of goods and the last rupee that is, public property. We wait your orders as to the requisition contained in Mr. Ross's letter. We beg leave to submit to your consideration whether a draft of the town of Chinsurah and of the Dutch lands, which we understand has been taken by Major Mestayers will not be a necessary guide to ourselves and to the officer commanding there"¹.

On the 5th July, 1781, the Commissaries went into the Council Room of Mr. Ross, at his request, to "hear the Parole read to the Council and Senior Merchants of the Dutch Company"². They all agreed to execute it as soon as it was written out in Dutch as well as English. Mr. Ross promised that he would deliver the Commissaries the Parole of the Gentlemen then present and that he would let them have a list of the other Dutch servants and persons, engaged in trade, "who might be depended on for their Parole"³. The following abstract statement (translated from Dutch into English by the Dutch translator John Fenwick) of pay including perquisites, house-rent etc., of the Dutch Company's staff at Chinsurah was submitted to the Commissaries:—

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Cha. Chi. Pros.*—Chinsurah, the 5th July, 1781.

3. *Ibid.*

				Rs. as. p.	
1	Director, or Chief at Chinsurah..	282	6	2/5	
2	Senior Merchants, each	94	2	188	4
6	Junior Merchants, each	66	12	400	8
1	Master Attendant ..	..	..	82	12
9	Factors, each ..	58	2	523	2
3	Factors, emoluments each	50	2	150	6
2	Factors, emoluments- allowance per month	54	15	109	14
2	Officers ..				
1	Do. ..	..	..	40	2
6	Book-Keepers ..	39	2	234	12
12	Assistants ..	34	10	415	8
8	Under Assistants ..	27	15	223	8
5	Assistant Surgeons ..	31	2	155	10
1	Sexton ..	..	..	23	2
1	Master Carpenter ..	..	..	48	8

60 persons in all, their salaries, etc. making together.....sicca rupees 2990-10”¹.

Mr. Ross also gave them the following list of the Dutch Company's native servants at Chinsurah :—

“Broker Gopinath Roy ..	Dewan.
Horry Roy ..	Sorter of the white cloth
Sam Addy ..	Head Sarcar in the Treasury.
Meer Feyzulla ..	Munshy.
Gangaram Roy ..	Sarkar at Ingelee.
Totaram ..	Watchmaker.
Fazel Mahomet ..	Bookbinder

Feuju	..	Ditto.
San Maohomed	..	Peon to the Secretary.
Sonkor	}	Gurryals, or people who strike the copper pan to give notice what o'clock it is.
Horry		
Kisson		
Jowdy	..	Peon in the store ware-house.
Noddjor Mahomed	..	Do. in the fort.
In the Fort		In the Fort.
2 Feigsters.....		Mettrany's.
1 Kettaby.....		Durwan.
1 Sackier.....		Do in the hospital".

The Commissaries were further supplied with the following list of the "Zamindary Servants", maintained for the collections of the *Ganges*, *Bazars* and villages dependent on the Chinsurah government:—

The village of Chinsurah.

- 1 Birju Bose....Head Banyan to the village.
- 2 Bhoanny Mookerjee.....second ditto.
- 1 Seebram Nenky (Neogy)....sircar to ditto.
- 1 Anonderam Bhos.....ditto ditto.
- 1 Horry Narain.....ditto ditto.
- 2 Noyandoss.....shroff.
- 1 Under Sircar.
- 1 Moonshy.
- 1 Servant in the Cutchery office.
- 13 Peons belonging to the Cutchery Office.
- 1 Head and
- 12 Common.

In the Cutchery of the Stand Bazar

- 1 Sigdar or Cutwall.

- 3 Sarcars.
- 6 Peons.
- 9 Pikes, or Watchmen
- 1 Jamadar
- 1 Pike
- 1 Choukydar by the sewd Women.
- 1 Servant.
- 16 Different chowkydars or watchmen, under which one
- 1 Jamadar.
- 1 Pike.
- 14 Common pikes.

In the Cutcherry of Commarparra Bazar.

- 1 Sarcar.
- 1 Cotwal.
- 10 Pikes.

In the Cutcherry of Huggen Gunsh.

- 1 Sigdar.
- 2 Peons.

In the Cutcherry of Mirjapore.

- 1 Sigdar.
- 1 Jamadar.
- 1 Sarcar.
- 1 Trompeter.
- 1 Pike who gathers the rents.
- 6 Peons.

At the gate going to Chandernagore.

- 1 Jammadar.
 - 3 Peons.
 - 3 Pikes.
 - 23 Thannadars
 - 36 Peons
- } together 59 at the different gates or guard places.

- 12 Peons by the Governor.
- 3 Lascars attending the Ensign Staff.
- 3 Men who carry carrion to the River.
- 4 Haldars.

175 native servants in all." ¹.

Mr. Leonard Verspyck, second of the Dutch factory at Cassimbazar who had then come to Chinsurah, having applied to the Commissaries for permission and a passport to return there "on account of his private affairs", was allowed to leave that place on his signing his parole². Sebram Neanghie (Sibram Neogy), *Patwari* of the Dutch at Chinsurah and Baranagore, on being asked by them to submit the *Jama Wasil* account since the last year promised to do so³. Gopinath Roy, *diwan* of the Dutch at Chinsurah, delivered to them the following list ⁴ of the Dutch East India Company's godowns and warehouses:—

"On the south side of the east gate of the Fort—1 godown,.....containing spices.

On the north side of the east gate of the Fort—a godown, being a Duftor Khannah—the godown....containing variety of goods was under the superintendence of Mr. Haugevitz and Mr. Deboss.

To the northward of the godown—next above ..paint, glass, etc.

To the northward of the godown next above—
1 godown.....empty.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

To the northward of the Fort facing to the southward, but lengthwise east and west—1 large godown.....spices.

To the west of the north gate—1 godown.... bales of peice goods.

To the next of godown next-above—1 godownsaltpetre—part private property.

To the west of the godown next above -- 1 godown.....gunnies.

To the southwest of the godown next above— 1 godown.....copper.

To the southward of the godown next above— 1 godown.....marine stores.

To the southward of the godown next above— Smith's shop and armoury.

All the above godowns are joined to the walls of the Fort, but within it.

Within the Fort, not adjoined to the walls—

A godown.....piecegoods— containing two or three apartments.

To the southward of the above godown—

One large godown..being the Treasury.

On the outside of the Fort.

In the south of the Fort.....provisions.

One godown and some straw houses.

Where the flagstaff stands is the magazine yard."

On the 5th July the Commissaries sent a list of these godowns and of their contents to Captain Charles Chatfield, the Commanding officer at Chinsurah, and wrote to him that it was "necessary to station Guards at the doors of all those, which are mentioned to contain goods"¹.

The Commissaries being informed that the native inhabitants of Chinsurah were deserting their habitations since the surrender of the Dutch thought if necessary, on the 6th July, 1781, to issue the following notice (drafted on the 5th July) with a view to preventing their apprehension and the inconvenience arising from their desertion:—

“This is to give notice to all soudagars, merchants, beparries, shroffs, ryots, etc. inhabitant of the village of Chinsurah, in Purgunnah Arsaf, in Chuckla Houghly, Sircar Sautgong,—that the above village belonged to the Dutch Company, but now belongs to the English Company. Therefore you are all desired to remain quiet at your houses, and do your business as before and not one of you will be hurt. Those persons who run away are desired to return to their habitations, but such as do not obey this order will be deemed culpable and incur the displeasure of the Government. This Per..... written the 5th July, 1781, or 24 Assur. 1188”¹.

One copy of this notice was sent to Baranagore and the rest were stuck up at three different places in the town of Chinsurah,—one at the gate of the Fort, one at the Mirjapore bazar and one at the Shestamund bazar². On the 6th July, the Commissaries appointed Nanda Kumar Chakravarty, Kali charan Bose, Ganga Narain and Govind Roy, *sircars* of the godowns and the warehouses. They wrote a letter to Captain Chatfield on the same day informing

1. *Cha. chi. Pros.*—Chinsurah, the 6th July 1781.

2. *Ibid.*

him of these appointments and requesting him to permit each one of the *sircars* to enter the warehouses, then kept under the charge of his sepoy, "for the purpose of opening and airing them"¹. They further instructed him to issue strict orders to his sepoy "not to allow the smallest article to be carried out of them"². This letter was carried to Mr. Chatfield by Nanda Kumar, Ganga Narain, and Sam Addy (the Dutch Khazanchee-treasurer and contained also the following request: "You will order the Treasury to be opened for the purpose of taking out the Bengal accounts, which we understand are locked up there but none of the money is to be removed on any account, without particular notice, signified to you under our signature"³

Captain Chatfield did not express his willingness to comply unconditionally with the instructions of the Commissaries. He wrote to them in reply on the 6th July: "I hereby protest against being answerable for any goods or treasure in the Dutch Companies Godowns or in the Godowns of private merchants unless before they shall be opened you give me a particular account of what is in each godown"⁴. In his second letter to them written on same date, he further observed: "As the accompanying letter is couched in the style of orders, which I know of no authority you have to give me, I therefore beg you will alter it. I am ready

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

to comply with any request you may make for the good of the service"¹.

Immediately on receipt of these letters, the Commissaries sent the following reply to Mr. Chatfield: "We have received your letter of this date. It is impossible for us to fix the degree of responsibility, which you may think rests upon you. The Board will determine upon this point upon being informed of our measures, and that your sepoys are placed at the doors of every one of the public Wirehouses. We request you will be pleased to give the orders to your officers and sepoys we have desired of you in our last.*****We have just received your letter enclosing the first we addressed you, which you say you return because couched in the style of orders and beg we will alter it. We are at a loss to conceive what part of our letter is in an improper style and we cannot think of committing ourselves so far in the attention of our letter as to make a tacit declaration of the impropriety you seem to point at. We think it scarcely possible, you can believe, we mean to make any request of you, incompatible with the good of that service you know to be entrusted to our Commission"². The Commissaries also referred their correspondence with Mr. Chatfield to the Governor-General and Supreme Council in Calcutta requesting them "to have such a line drawn for the conduct" of the officer

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

commanding at Chinsurah "as to the requisitions which they may be under the necessity of making from time to time as to place them beyond the possibility of altercation and cavil" ¹.

1 *Ibid.*

Miscellaneous Article

MORE LIGHT ON THE FAMILY OF VIZIR ALI

By K. K. BASU

On the flight of Vizir Ali and his subsequent capture and imprisonment, his family and children passed their days at Benares in strict surveillance and as stipendaries of the East India Company. The family consisted of Sahib Buksh (wife of Vizir Ali) and her son Muhammad Ali, Hussaini (wife of Vizir Ali), Kullo wife of Vizir Ali with her daughter Sadat-ul-nissa, and the other wife Vizir Ali viz., Doordana, Sobba Dowlat, Ashuran, Vizir-ul-Nissa, Izzut, Mahtab, Rehmat, Khadiza Khanum and Musseta. Sahib Buksh received a monthly allowance of Rs. 80/-. Hussaini Rs. 50/- Kullo Rs. 26/- and the rest Rs. 16/- each, the total allowance granted per month thus being Rs. 300/-. ¹

All debts incurred by the women of Vizir Ali's family at Benares were discharged by the Government with a warning to the members of the family, tradesmen and others that in future no liquidation of private debts will be permitted. ^{1a}

1. Judicial letter received From J. Neave, ? A. Agent to the Governor-General at Benares, dated 24th May, 1802 to J. Wintle, Magistrate Bhagalpur.

1a. Letter from Edmonstone, Secretary to Government to J. Wintle, dated 19th August, 1802.

In course of time, the Governor-General in Council directed the removal of Vizir Ali's family from Benares to Monghyr in order to secure the person of Vizir Ali's son ¹. Though the security of the rest of the family was not considered to be an object of importance yet it was thought necessary that no distinction should be openly manifested². The allowance that had been granted for the maintenance of the family at Benares was continued at Monghyr under the same rule of distribution that had been practised at the former place³.

For the purpose of conveying the family to Monghyr five boats were provided⁴, and the party left Benares under the escort of one Jamadar and twelve chaprasies and reached Monghyr on the 5th June 1802 ⁵. J. Wintle, the Magistrate of Bhagalpur was personally present at Monghyr when Sahib Buksh, her son Muhammad Ali and the rest of the family landed at their destination.⁶

The two houses, belonging to Mrs. Cabe and Dr. Moore were rented on Rs. 25 and Rs.150/- respectively for the accommodation of Vizir Ali's family⁷

1. Judicial letter received from Edmonstone, Secretary to Government to J. Fombelle, Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur. dated 6th November, 1801.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Judicial letter sent from J. Wintle, dated 17th June, 1802 to J. Neave.

6. Judicial letter sent from J. Wintle, dated 15th June, 1802 to N. B. Edmonstone.

7. Judicial letter sent From J. Wintle dated, 15th March 1802 to J. Neave.

Sahib Buksh and her son Muhammad Ali were placed in the house belonging to Dr. Moore which in point of respectability, convenience and comfort exceeded the one belonging to Mrs. Cabe that was occupied by the other part of Vizir Ali's family¹. The premises of Dr. Moore was in thorough repair and consisted of a well-raised lower roomed dwelling house². They contained one room 25 by 16 ft., two rooms 19 by 16 ft., two rooms of 16 ft. square and one of 16 by 8 ft.; there were besides one upper room of 16 ft. square and great and private staircases³. Situated in a large well stocked garden sorrouned by a low brick-wall, the dwelling contained two entrances and the necessary out-offices all tiled⁴.

The security of Muhammad Ali being an object of importance, a strict vigilance was employed in the custody of the boy. A party of sentries was stationed at the residence of Sahib Buksh the mother of Muhammad Ali to prevent all unobserved egress or ingress. During the night one sentry mounted guard at each face of the wall⁵. At the other house, that of Mrs. Cabe, occupied by the other members of Vizir Ali's family, only one sentry was posted at the entrance into the enclosure⁶.

1. Judicial letter sent from Armstrong, Magistrate of Bhagalpur to Edmonstone (19th May, 1806).

2. *Ibid*

3. *ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Judicial letter received from Edmonstone dated 6th November, 1801 to J. Fombelle.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

No other restrictions were imposed than those that precluded the means of carrying away the boy, who was the immediate object of vigilance, from the residence of the mother. No person was allowed to go with arms into the enclosure¹. The native officer commanding the guard at the house had to report to the commanding officer of Monghyr garrison or the Magistrate of Bhagalpur the number and description of persons who passed or repassed in the course of the day². With a view to prevent the practicability of removing Muhammad Ali by means of covered palanquins no such conveyance was allowed to proceed to and from the residence of Sahib Buksh³. On the same principle particular precaution was taken in admitting children into or out of the said residence, and the commanding officer of the guard became acquainted with the person and features of the boy⁴. For the purpose of ensuring his return to the residence, proper persons attended Muhammad Ali when he went out occasionally for the purpose of taking the air⁵. An epistolary correspondence was not generally interdicted or intercepted unless there was reason to suspect that such correspondence was directed to an improper purpose⁶. The occurrence of each day was reported to the commanding officer of Monghyr garrison or the Magistrate

1- *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

of Bhagalpur¹ and both the officers from time to time sent for the boy for the purpose of seeing him². All letters written by Vizir Ali to the members of his family residing at Monghyr or by the latter to the former were sent by the Secretary to the Government to the Magistrate of Bhagalpur or vice versa for the purpose of delivering them to the addressees³.

With an open countenance and a good disposition, Muhammad Ali, son of Sahib Buksh was aged three and half years when he reached Monghyr⁴. He was allowed to come out of the house he was kept in for change of air and exercise and was allowed to play and walk on the parade in the fort under the charge of an escort⁵. During the time he was under a course of medicine an attendant waited on him⁶.

On an application made by Sahib Buksh requesting that as Muhammad Ali had come of an age to learn to read and write, teachers might be allowed him⁷ one Shufikul Rehman, an ex-Munshi of Sir Robert Chambers, was appointed

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Judicial Letter Received, From Edmonstone, dated 5th July, 1804 to J. Wintle; From Monckton. Private Secretary to Government dated 28th March, 1807 and 9th July, 1807 to L. W. Laing, Magistrate of Bhagalpur.

4. Judicial letter sent. from J. Wintle, (dated 15th June, 1802) to Edmonstone.

5. Judicial letter sent. from J. Wintle, (dated 16th December, 1802) to Capt. J. Williams, Commanding at Monghyr.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Judicial letter sent. from J. Wintle (Dated 3rd March, 1803) to Edmonstone.

tutor on a monthly salary of Rs.25/-. The teacher knew Persian well but was not well versed in Arabic. His acquaintance with the text of the Quran was sufficient to enable him to teach his pupil whatever prayers might be necessary¹. The Magistrate of Bhagalpur personally looked into what progress the boy made in his education ².

In 1804, Vizirul Nissa, one of the Vizir Ali's women, died of an abscess in her back which was occasioned by her falling from an upper verandah of Vizir Ali's house at Benares at the time of the massacre of Mr. Chary and others³.

In 1805, Bibi Ashuran, one of the women of Vizir Ali's family at Monghyr solicited permission to make a pilgrimage to Mecca⁴, and in view of papers being wanting on the subject it cannot be asserted if the permission was given or not.

In 1806, the members of Vizir Ali's family ⁵ residing at Monghyr numbered eleven (on account of the death of Vizirul Nissa) as against twelve mentioned in the memorandum of J. Neave dated 24th May, 1802 sent to J. Wintle (the Magistrate of Bhagalpur, for the latter's information, and the monthly family pension was reduced from Rs. 300 to Rs. 284 in the year 1806.

1. Judicial letter sent. from J. Wintle (dated 12th June, 1803) to Edmonstone.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Judicial Letter Sent. From J. Wintle to Edmonstone (dated 25th January, 1804).

4. Judicial Letter Sent. From J. Armstrong (dated 21st May, 1805) to Edmonstone.

5. Judicial Letter Sent. From Armstrong dated 23rd April, 1806) Magistrate Bhagalpur to Edmonstone.

Illahi Khanum applying the Governor-General in Council for a provision as a wife of Vizir Ali and on ascertainment by a reference to the resident at Lucknow, that she was legally married to Vizir Ali and that she had a son in consequence of that marriage, the Governor-General permitted a grant or provision to the applicant in common with the other members of Vizir Ali's family on condition that she consented to reside at such place as the British Government was pleased to select for that purpose¹. The residence of Illahi Khanum and her son was fixed at Monghyr under the same rules which were observed for the safe custody of Sahib Buksh and her son². The respectibility of Illahi Khanum's parentage entitling her to an accommodation by no means inferior to that which was enjoyed by Sahib Buksh a proper habitation that was separate from the rest of Vizir Ali's family was provided to Illahi Khanum and her son³.

Hussani Begum once exceeded the limits of the authorized correspondence by addressing a letter to Vizir Ali for an allowance in favour of Munsoor Ali Khan, who was probably her son. Her action was deemed improper and irregular and she was apprized of the impropriety of her conduct in addressing such an application to Vizir Ali. It was signified to her that any application of that nature must be addressed to the Judge and Magistrate of Bhagalpur who would communicate it to Government

1. Judicial Letter Sent. From Edmonstone (dated 30th April, 1806) to N. Armstrong.

2. *Ibid*

3. *Ibid*.

with such explanations and remarks as might enable the Governor-General in Council to judge of the necessity and expediency of complying with it ¹.

With Hussani Begum lived her sister Khadija Khanum (wife of Saiyid Muhammad Zafar), latter's son (Saiyid Ismail) and daughter (Fatima) ². In 1806 Khadija and her son Ismail were released and delivered over to Muhammad Zafar, while Fatima remained with her aunt at Monghyr ³. The allowance that Khadija received from Government was discontinued from the date of her release from confinement at Monghyr ⁴.

J. Browne, the Asst. Surgeon at Monghyr was frequently called upon by the commanding officer of the place to give medical attendance to the son and family of Vizir Ali ⁵. The Governor-General in Council did not grant Dr. Browne any remuneration on account of his medical attendance but permitted him to charge in a contingent bill properly attested the actual expenses he incurred for supplying medicines to the members of the family ⁶. We learn, that once, Dr. Browne submitted

1. Judicial Letter Received. from Edmonstone (dated 1st May 1806) to W. Armstrong.

2. Judicial Letter Received. From Monckton (dated 16th November 1806) to Armstrong.

3. Judicial Letter Received. From the Capt. Fort Monghyr to Armstrong.

4. Judicial Letter Recived. From Monckton to J. W. Laing dated 6th February 1807. Mir Zafar settled down at Chinsurah (Letter from Monckton, dated 4th September 1807 to R. Turner, Acting Magistrate of Bhagalpur).

5. Letter from J. Browne (dated 22nd January 1807) to J. W. Laing.

6. Letter from Edmonstone to J. W. Laing, dated 12th March 1807.

a contingent bill for supplying free medicines to the family of Vizir Ali amounting to Rs. 250 for eleven months¹.

The Governor-General in Council saw the necessity of adopting a new arrangement for the future custody of Vizir Ali's son and was of opinion that the buildings in the fort of Monghyr, known by the name of the Magazine, were in all respects the best adapted to the object in view². Necessary alterations and additions were made so to render the magazine a fit and secure place of accommodation for the family of Vizir Ali. The intention of removing the son and the mother was kept concealed from the other members of Vizir Ali's family, as the prospect of a more secure confinement might induce the young man or persons in his interest to meditate the project of an immediate escape³. Hence, for the intended alterations and additions some fictitious and plausible purpose was assigned. The reason that was assigned for the removal of the boy was the necessity of terracing anew the roof of his present habitation that was in a bad state⁴. The commanding officer at Monghyr was ordered to augment the existing precautions against the escape of Vizir Ali's son⁵. On the

1. Letter from J. Browne to R. Turner, dated 11th September 1807.

2. Judicial Letter Received. From Fort Adjutant, Monghyr (dated 9th November 1807) to R. Turner

3. *Ibid.*

4. Judicial Letter Received. From Fort Adjutant, Monghyr (dated 21st November 1807) to R. Turner.

5. From Edmonstone (9th November 1807) to R. Turner.

14th March 1808, the family of Vizir Ali was removed to the magazine inside the fort¹.

Sahib Buksh made a petition to the Governor-General in Council for a increase of her pension but it was rejected².

Sobha Dowlat, one of the women of Vizir Ali's family died about 4 o'clock on 4th July 1808³.

One Captain Landeg began constructing a house close to the residence of Vizir Ali's family⁴, but the construction was discontinued and finally stopped by the orders of the Governor-General in Council on the ground that the family of Vizir Ali would experience inconvenience from the nearness of his house to that which they occupied.

In 1810 Bibi Ashuran one of the women of Vizir Ali's family dying, the Governor-General in Council granted the pecuniary aid of Rs. 30 to Mansur Ali Khan for the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred by the funeral of the deceased⁵.

In September 1810 a robbery being committed in the house of Hussaini Begum that was situated outside the fort⁶, Vizir Ali applied to Government for pecuniary relief to be made to his family and engagement of guard of sepoy's for the future protection of Hussaini Begum's house.

1. From Monckton to R. Turner (9th March 1808).

2. From Monckton to R. Turner (31st January 1808.,

3. From Fort Adjutant to R. Turner.

4. Judicial Letter sent from G. Hartwell, Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur (dated 18th February 1809) to Capt. Landeg.

5. Judicial Letter Received. From Monckton (dated 25th August 1810, to J. Sanford.

6. From J. Sanford (dated 8th May 1811) to G. Dowdeswell.

In 1811 the allowance paid to Hussaini Begum proving inadequate for the support of her establishment her monthly stipend was increased at the recommendation of J. Sanford, the Magistrate of Bhagalpur, in the sum of Rs. 50¹.

In the letter of J. Sanford, dated 21st September 1812 submitting a list of state pensions in his charge to N. B. Edmonston we come across the following members in Vizir Ali's family, *viz*, Hussaini Begum, Kallu and her daughter, Izzut, Mahtab, Rahmat, Doordana and Musita Khanum. Hussaini drew an allowance of Rs. 100, Kallu Rs. 26 and the rest Rs. 16 each, making a total monthly allowance of Rs. 206. Hussaini Begum and the women residing in her house were under restraint². Strangers were not allowed to visit them without the permission of the Magistrate or the Commanding officer at Monghyr.

On the 19th January 1813, Sahib Buksh and her son Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan were released from their confinement and permitted to live in a house at Monghyr that was selected by them³. In the event of any attempt on their part to quit the place of residence clandestinely the Magistrate was ordered to remand them to their former confinement and place them under the restraint

1. Judicial Letter Sent. From J. Sanford to Monckton, 25th August 1811).

2. Judicial Letter Sent. From J. Ewing, Magistrate Bhagalpur to J. Adam, Secretary to Government, Political Department.

3. Judicial Letter received from J. Adam, Secretary to Government (dated 11th February 1813) to Sir F. Hamilton, Collector of Bhagalpur.

which appeared to him to be necessary for their safe custody.¹ The original monthly allowance of Rs. 80 which Sahib Buksh had been receiving so long was increased to Rs. 300 and this amount was to be paid to her until Mirza Muhammad reached his majority after which the same amount of money would be paid to him under the obligation of providing for the subsistence of his mother².

Like Sahib Buksh Illahi Khanum was also and about the same time released from her confinement³. She decided to reside with her son at Chapra in zilla Saran. She was afforded assistance that was required for her convenient removal to Chapra and a small guard of burkandazes that appeared sufficient for her safe escort accompanied her from Monghyr to Chapra⁴. Further, the Government bore the expense of boat hire (a *budge-row* and three baggage boats⁵) for the conveyance of Illahi Khanum and her numerous family to Chapra and advanced to her one month's augmented allowance of Rs. 300⁶. In the sequel, Illahi Khanum and her son Jellaluddin Hyder quitted Monghyr on the 1st of May 1813⁷.

1. Judicial Letter received from J. Adam to J. Sanford, Magistrate of Bhagalpur and Lieut. Nugent, Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, dated 11th February, 1813.

2. Judicial Letter received from J. Adam, Secretary to Government (11th February 1813).

3. *Ibid.*

4. Judicial Letter received from J. Sanford and Lieut. Nugent (11th February, 1813).

5. Judicial Letter received from G. Nugent to J. Sanford (dated Monghyr, the 24th April, 1813).

6. Judicial Letter received from J. Adam to J. Sanford and Lieut. Nugent (dated Fort William, 26th March, 1813).

7. Judicial Letter received from Nugent to Sanford (Monghyr 2nd May, 1813).

Bibi Doordana, one of the women of Vizir Ali's family dying at Monghyr in the year 1813, the Government, in compliance with the application made by Manzoor Ali Khan, authorized the payment of Rs. 36 that had been incurred in defraying the funeral expenses of the deceased¹. We thus find, that in addition to the monthly allowance, the Government at times bore the incidental and extra expenses incurred in the family, such as, funeral expenses, conveyance expenses and occasional repairs to the house occupied by the members of the family. In 1815 the Government disbursed the sum of Rs. 293 for repairs to the house occupied by Hussaini Begam² at Monghyr.

In view of the bad state of health of Vizir Ali and improving the condition of his health, the Government determined to remove him from Fort William, the place of his present confinement, to the fortress of Vellore, as combining with the security of his person, the advantage of comfortable accommodation, scope for physical exercise and freshness of air³ were essential to the preservation of his health. Vizir Ali appreciated the proposal but he wanted to have the comfort of domestic society and consequently sought the permission of Government to take his family with him to the coast⁴. Being willing to mitigate the severity of confinement the Government, acquiesced in

1. Judicial Letter received from J. Monckton to J. Sanford (dated 27th April 1813).

2. Judicial Letter received from J. Monckton to E. Parry, Magistrate of Bhagalpur (dated 30th August 1815).

3. Judicial Letter received from J. Monckton to E. Parry, (27th January 1816).

4. *Ibid.*

Vizir Ali's solicitation to take his wives and concubines to Vellore. The proposed arrangement was communicated to Hussaini Begum and Sahib Buksh and they were intimated that their acceptance or rejection of Vizir Ali's invitation was a point in which Government had no wish to influence their determination. They were at liberty to go or stay according to their own views of their future comfort and happiness.

Sahib Buksh was not disposed to separate herself from her son who was to remain under any circumstances at Monghyr. But Hussaini Begum who was understood to have some attachment to her husband uniformly expressed an anxious desire to see her husband¹. Hussaini and the other ladies such as, Kulloo, Izzut and Musiti Khanun in their petition to the Governor-General signified their willingness to accompany Vizir Ali to Vellore and prayed for the discharge of their private debts amounting to Rs. 1,498 by the Government. The Government granted the indulgence and even gave pecuniary assistance to enable them to provide themselves with clothes and other necessities for their journey to the Presidency. The provision of clothes however referred only to comfort and propriety and it was not meant to extend to anything to finery².

On the morning of 15th May 1817 Vizir Ali died at Fort William, Calcutta. The ceremonies of his funeral were duly performed in a suitable

1. *Ibid.*

2. From Monckton to Parry (dated 18th May 1816).

and becoming manner¹. The Governor-General in Council complied with Hussaini Begum's request that she and the other women residing with her, such as, Bibi Mehtab, Bibi Rahmut, Fatima Begum, niece of Hussaini Begum, Boochree Khanum and Mehdi Khanum, the two adopted daughters of Hussaini² who were to have accompanied the late Vizir Ali to the coast might be allowed to proceed to the Presidency for the purpose of performing religious rites at the grave of the deceased and superintending the construction of his tomb after which they were to return to Monghyr³. Hussaini's request that necessary assistance with regard to furnishing her with boats and defraying her other travelling expenses to enable her to accomplish her journey to Calcutta was also complied with⁴. Later, the Begum was permitted to live in the Presidency as she had so desired and the house at Monghyr that was rented by Government for her accommodation was discontinued from May 1820⁵. With the other ladies of the family Hussaini Begum left the Presidency for Patna⁶ at a subsequent date.

1. Judicial Letter received from the Persian Secretary to the Government to E. Parry, dated 17th May 1817.

2. Judicial Letter sent from E. Parry to J. Monckton, Secretary to Government, dated 15th June 1816.

3. Judicial Letter received from J. Monckton to Parry dated 30th June 1817.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Judicial Letter received from G. Swinton, Secretary to Government to D. Macfarlan, Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, dated 27th November 1819 and from G. Swinton to E. Parry, dated 10th May 1820.

6. Judicial Letter received from H. T. Princep, Secretary to Government to E. Parry, dated 19th May 1821.

Reviews and Notices of Books

THE ORIGINS OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY. *By* Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D. LITT. Published by Kitabisthan, Allahabad. 7½'×4¼', pp.1-428, 1936.

Provincial Autonomy in a limited form has been introduced in British India by the Government of India Act of 1935. The writer of the present work attempts at tracing its origins mainly from the schemes of decentralization or devolution which were formulated or adopted between 1860 and 1918. Much of the subject-matter of the book has been dealt with in Sir John Strachy's "India, its Administration and progress", Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee's "Provincial Finance", Prof. Vakil's "Financial Developments in Modern India", and in the "The Federal Finance in India" by Dr. P. J. Thomas. But these writers excepting the first evidently did not consult the unpublished Official Records, preserved in the India Office. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad has made a diligent search of these records and has utilized fully such valuable documents as the "Reports on the plan of assignments for Provincial Services" (1877), "Selection of Decentralisation Papers" (1870-1880), "Note on the History of the Provincial Financial Arrangements" by Finlay (1887), and "Note on the position of the Imperial Govern-

ment under the Provincial Contract" by Barrow (1888). He has also drawn more freely from the speeches of Indian public men. His treatment therefore, has become fuller and more comprehensive than that of previous writers on the subject.

The writer has in many cases quoted the official view and has attempted to support it to the best of his capacity. He has scrupulously avoided references to extremist opinion, even when expressed by British politicians. Thus he has quoted Bright's scheme of decentralisation but has omitted the statement of his ultimate object which was "to make the Governments of the presidencies Governments of the people of the presidencies; not Governments of the Civil Servants of the Crown." Contemporary newspapers and Journals sometimes formulated schemes of provincial autonomy in the period taken up by the author, but this source of information has not been tapped by him.

In the opinion of Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad the period between 1858 and 1906 marks a 'setback' to the tendency towards 'provincialisation'. But he himself has admitted that "the financial scheme of Provincial Contracts was not only in full force but was further extended. There was no diminution of the legal powers of the Local Governments; on the contrary, in many cases these powers were enlarged. So also their legislative and administrative functions." In spite of these he has put 'The Setback 1888-1906' as the heading of Chapter V which covers 64 pages of his book.

The treatise however, is written throughout in a sober and scholarly manner and will be helpful to the students of History and Politics as well as to the general readers, interested in the constitutional development of India.

B. B. Majumdar

ŚRIMAD-BHAGVAD-GĪTARTHA-PRAKĀ-

ŚIKĀ of Śrī Upaniṣad-brahma-yogin, with the Text, edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library and published by the same Library, from Adyar, Madras; Pp. XXXI + 457, 1941.

This volume contains the text of the Bhagavad-Gītā, a commentary by Upaniṣad-brahma-yogin and an English introduction by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Gītā with the 108 Upaniṣads constitutes the series of scriptures which have been commented upon by Brahma-yogin, and which have been published with his commentaries by the Adyar Library in successive volumes, altogether nine. The Gītā forms the apex of this series of Upaniṣads since "it is also an Upaniṣad according to the colophon at the end of each chapter", and since it occupies an important place in Vedānta according to all the great Āçāryas. The justification for this new edition of the Gītā in the presence of so many existing one lies in the hitherto unpublished gloss of Brahma-yogin, and the special merit of this gloss consists in its lucid presentation of the teachings as explained by the great Śaṅkara whose commentary on the Gītā is

comparatively abstruse. The introduction contains a scholarly discussion of some of the textual and historical problems connected with the text, such as its real original form, the number of its verses, its relation to the Mahābhārata etc., with occasional touches of Dr. Raja's personal spiritual convictions and auto-biographic reminiscences. The printing and get-up are quite up to the reputation of the Adyar Library. The book will be useful to those who want to read the Gītā in the original, and also desire to know the gist of Śaṅkara's teachings on it.

THE SÂMÂNYA VEDÂNTA UPANIṢADS,
Translated (on the basis of the Commentary
of Śrī-Upaniṣad-brahma-yogin) into English by
Śrī T. R. Śrīnivasa Āyyāṅgār B. A., L. T.,
and edited by Pandit S. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī,
F. T. S. the Adyar Library, 1941;
Pp. XXXIV+534.

After publishing the 108 Upaniṣads and the Gītā, with the commentaries of Upaniṣad-brahma-yogin, in nine volumes, the Adyar library has undertaken the publication of English translations of these in successive volumes. The present volume is the second of this series. It contains the translation of 24 Upaniṣads, namely the Akṣi, Adhyātma, Anna, Ātma, Ātmabodha, Ekākṣara, Kauṣītaki brāhmaṇa, Garbha, Nirālambana, Paiṅgala, Prāṇāgni-hotra, Mantrika, Mahā, Muktika, Mudgala, Maitrāyaṇa, Vajra-sūcika, Śārīraka, Śuka-rahasya, Sarva-sāra, Sāvitrī, Subāla, Sūrya and Skanda.

The translator follows the lead of Brahma-yogin, but where it fails he falls back on his own inner sense (*antaḥkaraṇa*). He tries to give a faithful (*verbatim et literatim*) rendering of the original. But he also gives, wherever necessary, explanatory notes within brackets. Unlike some literal translators Mr. Âyyāṅgâr attempts to make the meaning clear by translating the sense rather than the words of the original. He is also sensible enough to leave untranslated words the translation of which would rather confuse than clear the meaning of the text. The volume will be welcome to those students of the Upaniṣads who want a faithful rendering of them in English being unable to follow them in the original.

Notes of the Quarter.

A meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Society's Office on Sunday the 3rd August, 1941 at 8. 30. a.m.

Present:- The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali. (in the chair)
Dr. Hari chand Sastri, I. E. S.
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Md. Ismail.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on Sunday, the 20th April, 1941.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months, April to June, 1941.
 - b. Passed the Annual Account for 1940-41.
3. Passed the Revised Budget, for 1941-42 and the Budget Estimate for 1942-43.
4. Passed payments of the following bills:—
 - a. Oriental Book Agency Bill no. 1308 Rs. a. dated 1. 4. 41 for Vira-Vinoda. 76 8
 - b. Indian Photo Engraving Co.'s Bill no. 1243 C. R. dated 22-4-41 for preparing blocks and printing plates. 25 13
 - c. Kamala Book Store Bill no. 24 dated 23. 5. 41 for "Six Ways of Knowing." 11 4
 - d. Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co.'s Bill no. 43034 dated 23. 5. 41 for "History of Afghanistan". 44 6

- e.* Allahabad Law Journal Press Bill no. 169 dated 30-5-41 printing charges of Journal, March 1941. Rs. 458 10
5. Considered purchase of Manuscripts.
The Honorary General Secretary was authorised to take necessary action.
 6. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society:—
 - a.* Babu Dinesa Baksi, Teacher, Patna School of Arts.
 - b.* Babu Ganesa Sharma, Advocate, High Court, Patna.
 - c.* Prof. Satish Chandra Misra, M. A., B. N. College, Patna.
 7. Resolved to entrust the printing of the September '41 issue of the Journal to the Patna Law Press if the quality of printing and the charges are satisfactory.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary.
9-8-1941.

A meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Society's office Monday the 22nd September, 1941 at 5 p.m.

Present:- The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.
(in the chair).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. B. Dhavle.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on Sunday the 3rd August, 1941.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of July and August, 1941.
3. Passed payment of the Allahabad Law Journal Press Bills:
 - a. Bill no. 255 dated 16-8-41, printing charges of some forms of Journal, June issue 1941. Rs. 235 12
 - b. Bill no. 272 dated 29-8-41, charges of reprints of Pramāṇa-Vārtika-Vṛtti. Rs. 8 8
4. Elected Babu Lakshminarayan Singh, B. L., Advocate, High Court, Patna as an ordinary member of the Society.
5. Elected Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt. a representative of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for the next session of the Sanskrit Pariṣad.
6. Read Circular letter of the Local Secretary of the Fifth Indian History Congress, Hyderabad Session, 1941 to be held at Hyderabad and decided that Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt. will represent the Society at the Congress.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary.
23-9-1941.

Annual Statement of Accounts for 1940-41.

EXPENDITURE.

Heads.		Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Library	..	1,149	13	9	1,149	13	9
Establishment	..	1,256	14	4	1,280	4	0
Mithila Pandit	..	1,602	4	3	1,605	0	0
Journal	..	1,622	10	9	2,000	0	0
Postage	..	262	12	6	400	0	0
Stationery	..	61	15	6	90	0	0
Electrical Charges	..	68	11	6	100	0	0
Miscellaneous	..	444	7	0	540	0	0
Hathwa Fund	..	74	15	0	215	15	6
Darbhanga „	..	1,001	9	6	1251	11	9
Tibetan Expedition	..	812	3	0	1,265	12	9
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	0	8	3	211	7	0½
Tibetan Tanjur	..	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Telephone	..	1	0	0	0	0	0
<hr/>							
Total	..	9,359	13	4	11,110	0	9½
Closing Balance	..	3,862	12	7	2,255	4	1½
<hr/>							
Grand Total	..	13,222	9	11	13,365	4	11

Details of Closing Balance on 31st March, 1941 :—

		Rs.	a.	p.
Hathwa Fund	..	151	0	6
Darbhanga „	..	271	2	3
Mayurbhanj „	..	210	14	9½
General Balance	..	2,726	1	3½
Tibetan Expedition	..	503	9	9
<hr/>				
Total	..	3,862	12	7

(Sd.) S. Bahadur,



Bronze Buddha from Mandalay

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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1941

[PART IV

Leading Articles

A BRONZE BUDDHA FROM MANDALAY IN PATNA MUSEUM

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The bronze Buddha reproduced and described in this note was acquired for the Patna Museum in October 1941 from Miss A. Cloete of Doranda House, Ranchi. It is reported to have come into the possession of the lady's father just after the annexation of Burma, when the booty from the Mandalay palace, which was not kept by Government to be sent to Queen Victoria, was sold by auction in Calcutta. The owner placed it before the discerning eye of Mr. Manuk, President of the Managing Committee, Patna Museum, to whom are due the selection and acquisition of most of the really valuable *objets d'art* in the Museum, while the latter was at Ranchi. In disposing of it to the Patna Museum the lady showed herself more mindful of finding a suitable home for a cherished

family possession than of what it might fetch. It is a worthy though late complement to the bronzes from Kurkihar forming a prize collection in the museum.

The image is inscribed : the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, Mandalay, has kindly supplied a reading and translation of the two Burmese inscriptions, at the instance of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, to whom estampages of the inscription were sent by the Curator, Patna Museum. The reading is given in the Appendix. The translation of the dated inscription runs. "The image of the sage who bears a lotus brought and presented by the King of China (Nanchao ?) on the 1st waning of the month of Vaisakha in the year of the Burmese Era 1151 (*i. e.* 1789 A. D.)"

The learned Superintendent's translation, King of China (Nanchao ?)' is misleading. Nanchao is the name of old Yünnan Cf. Report, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1919, p. 16 :—"In the closing decade of the 13th century, the Shan Kingdom of Nanchao in Yünnan was subverted by the Chinese under Kublai Khan. The creation of the kingdom of Siam in 1350 A. D. appears to be indirectly due to that national catastrophe. There was ethnic pressure and the Shans had perforce to march south-east, and following the line of least resistance, had to find a new home for themselves. In the earlier centuries, Nanchao had exercised a great influence on Burma, and had acted as a medium through which Tibetan influences reached this province." This

precision is necessary as it helps to determine the provenance of the image. Incidentally Kublai Khan referred to in the Report was a direct descendant of the famous Geangiz Khan of famous memory.

This image is described as 'brought and presented' by the King of a Nan-chao. It is silent on the source of workmanship. The cast of the countenance is Indian.¹ Influences from Southern, Central and Northern India are unmistakable in the dress and in the way of dressing the hair. Moreover although ultimately of foreign origin, a Burmese or Talaing artist has impressed it with a style and technique all his own, thus forming, it may be said, a new school which may be termed the Pagan school.² The artist has been eminently successful in giving the figure a pleasing and distinctive atmosphere.

It is possible to make the ascription more definite by differentiating between the Tai (Siamese) and Burmese influences, on (a) the philosophic pose and (b) the artistic technical posture of the figure.

(a) Practically nothing authentic or definite is known of the religious history of Burma from the earliest times up to the middle of the XIth century A. D. Chinese records are silent or uninformative. Tāranātha, the Tibetan Historian of Buddhism, makes one important statement, *viz.* in the Koki land, in which he includes Pagan and Hanthawaddy, Hīnayānism was supreme in Vasubandhu's time (IVth-Vth century A. D.;)

1. *Ibid.* 1923, p. 31.

2. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 39.

disciples of Vasubandhu introduced Mahāyānist Buddhism, and the two schools became indistinguishable. Burmese historians deny the existence of Buddhism in Pagan before the XIth century, meaning thereby that a degraded form of Mahāyānism, Nāga worship, Tantricism and Śivaism obtained. Nepal and Bengal on the one hand and Burma on the other contributed towards this degeneration as evidenced by the Min-nan-thu (five miles to the north-east of Pagan) temple frescoes. The austere Theravāda of Burma¹ as a whole was due to the influence of Southern Indian and Ceylonese Buddhism which impressed itself more in Talaing than in Burma due to ethnic temperament. The Burmans and the Shans migrated from Ssuch'uan and Yünnan; the Karens from Kueichou; and the Talaings or Mon-Khmers from Kuang-tung and Kaung-hsi. Burmans are said originally to have come from Eastern Tibet; the Shans from the Yang-tzu Valley, the Karens from Kansu and the Talaings from Eastern China. Thus while Eastern Bengal, Nepal, Tibet and Burma were influenced by the gods of Northern Buddhism,² by an elastic and intensely emotional devotion to popular saint-worship and superstition, Talaings and through them adjacent Burma, specially Pagan adopted the Theravāda Buddhism from Southern India and Ceylon. The supreme aim of Theravāda tenets is the attainment of Arhatship through the abolition of all passions. It would be difficult

1 Report Archaeol. Surv. Burma, 1916, p. 30. cf Brown *Burma as I saw it*, pp. 28-29.

2. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

to conceive of this transcendental aim being more nobly translated objectively than by the image under discussion.

(b) The Special features of the figure show Pagan affinities. The figure represents the Buddha seated in the *Bhūmisparśa mudrā* with the left hand holding a minuscule alms bowl on its palm and placed on the lap and the right hand falling over the right knee with the fingers pointing towards the earth. Unlike the images of the Mahāmuni type in Arakan, the legs are crossed in the proper sense of the term and in orthodox fashion with the legs crossed showing both soles a feature showing Northern India rather than Southern Indian posture. But it is distinctively Pagan.¹

The longer of the dated Burmese inscriptions is in Sakkaraj 1151, *i. e.* 1719 A. D. The Alaungpaya dynasty ruled Burma from 1752 to 1824. Most famous of this line was King Bodawpaya 1782-1819. China sent missions to Burma in 1787, 1790, 1795, 1796, 1822; and Burma to China in 1782, 1787, 1792, 1823. "But the best of all was the 1790 Chinese mission which brought a Buddha tooth and three ladies for the royal harem. The acquisition of the tooth showed Bodawpaya that he was a greater king than Anawrahta 1044-77 who had failed to obtain the tooth from

1. Report Archaeol. Surv. Burma, 1925, p. 17.

In the seated images of the Buddha found in Southern India, Ceylon, Cambodia and Arakan, one leg is just placed over the other *i. e.* the right, leg is placed over the other whereby only the sole of the right foot is made visible. R. A. S. B., 1925, *op. cit.*

China. As for the ladies, were they not princesses of the Imperial House of China? Was not the Emperor his vassal and did he not admit it by sending tribute of his own granddaughters? He failed to realise that they were ordinary Yūnnanese girls." ¹ The King of Nan-chao or Yünnan might have included this Bronze Buddha among the gifts brought by this Chinese embassy in 1790 A. D. which is the date of the gift, not necessarily of the image itself. The figure possibly remained in the Mandalay palace till 1824 when English transports drew alongside the Rangoon stockade².

Sakkaraj 1151 has been rendered into 1789 A. D. by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, Mandalay (*Vide* Appendix). But this is only roughly calculated. According to the Ephemeris published in 1923 for the years 700 A. D. to 1799, Swamikannu Pillai has prepared a list of dates in the Burmese Common Era in the "Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpya³ in Upper Burma". the first waning of the month of Vaisakha in the Sakkaraj 1151 'would correspond to current year and be 1789-90.

The figure is 17" high including its base which is 21" long 9" wide from front to back. The hair, dress and lotus pedestal are coated

1. Harvey, *History of Burma*, 1925. p. 280.

2. Wilson, Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, 23.

3. King Bodawpaya ascended the throne on Monday, 11th February according to a coin commemorative of the event: R. A. S. B., 1913, p. 20. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his reign and the seventy-fifth of his age, leaving 122 children and 208 grandchildren. (Harvey, op. cit., p. 293.)

with gold while the exposed portions of the body are lacquered pale dark. The entire piece is perfectly preserved.

Appendix

Report on estampages of Inscriptions in Burmese received by the Director-General of Archaeology from the Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.

"Both the documents belong to late 18th Century from the point of view of script as well as from the date in Burmese era of the longer inscription. The transcription of the short one is as follows :—

" Rhi Krā muni bhu rā."

The translation in English being :—

"The Image of the sage who bears a lotus."

Obviously therefore the short document is the title of the Image of Buddha.

The transcription of the longer inscription is as follows :—

"Sakkarāj 1151 Khu Kachun la prai Kyo rak ne U tai² man Ka Chak rok sai² rhi Kra Muni bhu rā. "

The English translation of it is as follows :—

"The image of the sage who bears a lotus brought and presented by the King of China (Nanchao?) on the 1st waning of the month of Vaisakha in the year of the Burmese Era 1151 (i. e. 1789 A. D). "

(Sd.) Illegible,

Superintendent,

Archaeological Survey, Burma, Mandalay.

NAWAL SINGH, THE JAT RULER OF BHARATPUR'S FIGHT WITH THE SIKHS,

24TH FEBRUARY, 1770

By HARI RAM GUPTA

The real founder of the power and greatness of the house of Bharatpur was Suraj Mal Jat. He was killed in a fight with Najib-ud-daulah on the 25th December, 1763. Suraj Mal's son Jawahir Singh succeeded him. His stormy career came to an end in June, 1768. His younger brother, Ratan Singh, ascended the gaddi after him. He took in his service two Europeans, Walter Reinhard, known as Sombre or Samru, and Rene Madec. Ratan Singh was murdered by his Brahman priest, Gosain Rupanand, on the 8th April, 1769. Dan Shah, the Commander-in-Chief of Jat forces became regent for Ratan Singh's young son Kesari Singh. The late ruler's brothers Nawal Singh and Ranjit Singh united to overthrow the regent who was not of royal blood, but a Jat of ordinary descent. When Rane Madec, the principal supporter of Dan Shah, was away from the capital to quell disturbances, both the brothers expelled the regent-general from the territory of Bharatpur. But they fell out over the distribution of power. Nawal Singh cleverly won over Rane Madec and all the influential courtiers. Ranjit Singh fled to his fort of Kumbher, Nawal

Singh attacked his brother and Ranjit Singh in exasperation invited the Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej territory to his assistance.¹

The Sikhs who had been in the habit of invading the country in the Doab as well as in the vicinity of Delhi for several years past readily embraced the opportunity. They reached near Panipat on the 4th January, 1770, plundering and ravaging the country as they went. This was the estate of Najib-ud-daulah who was lying ill at Delhi. His son, Zabita Khan, came to oppose them. The Sikhs demanded a large sum as the price of their friendship. Zabita Khan declined to entertain any such proposal. An engagement took place between the two ; but it decided nothing.²

The Sikhs advanced from Panipat plundering villages on their way, and reached the neighbourhood of Delhi³ on the 10th January. Zabita

1. Ranjit Singh also invited Marathas from the south. Sikhs came from the north. They were followed by the Rohillas. Just at this time by mere accident, Qasim Ali Khan, the deposed Nawab of Bengal, reached Agra. The British enemy Samru was already with the Jats. The presence of all these hostile elements in one place raised strong apprehensions in the minds of British Agents of the neighbourhood of a combined attack on them. They kept themselves, therefore, in close touch with their movements. Hence full details of this expedition of the Sikhs are available to us purely from English sources. This material escaped even the great historian, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, who in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, iii, 6, makes only a passing reference to this event.

2. Imperial Records, Calendar of Records of the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal. From Captain Gabriel Harper, dated Amir Khan's Gardens, 28th January, 1770, P. 98, Para 259.

3. Richard Barwell in a letter to Thomas Pearson, dated Calcutta, the 20th February, 1770, wrote about Delhi :—

"The whole country about Delhi is up in arms ; the

Khan closely followed them. No action was fought on the way for want of reinforcements. On the 14th January they entered the Jat territory. Zabita Khan still maintained their pursuit. The Sikhs, finding that they could not give full play to their ambition, offered Zabita Khan a sum of a lakh of rupees "on the condition of his quitting the country about Delhi"¹.

No settlement was, however, arrived at. "The agreement betwixt Zubta Cawn and these chiefs is not fully adjusted and the former is as vigilant as ever well-knowing that no dependence can be placed on them"². The Sikhs did not cross the Jumna into the Doab as long as Zabita Khan was upon them; but when they had passed the Rohilla estate, he retired. The Sikhs then entered the Doab and encamped near Koil³ (Aligarh).

On the 26th January a large body of the Jats proceeded towards Delhi to oppose the advance of

Sikhs, Rohillas, Morattas are all in motion." Bengal Past and Present Vol, XI, Part I, July-September, 1915, p. 37.

1. Ibid; paras 260, 261, 269. Colonel P. Gailliez in a despatch dated Allahabad, the 15th January, 1770, reported the arrival of Qasim Ali Khan near Agra, hinting at the probability of an attack on Bengal. Ibid; para 262.

The Governor of Fort William, however, did not take a serious notice of this report:—"The President states that the intelligence of Qasim Ali's preparation against the English has been confirmed and his treasures have induced certain formidable powers to declare in his favour. He, however, disbelieves the current rumour about the reported alliance of the Sikhs, the Mahrattas and Najib-ud-daulah." Ibid; para, 266.

2. Imperial Records, Bengal Select Committee, 16th February, 1770, pp. 55-7.

3. Ibid; proceedings of the 17th February, 177, pp. 76-8.

the Sikhs.¹ The Sikhs, however, marched with such rapidity that consternation was produced among the Jat population². "Men are flying before them, and seeking places of retreat to secure them from the insult of those people so that country is left entirely to their mercy"³. At these alarming news the Jat force advancing to meet the Sikhs was so much frightened that it retreated the following day without even sighting the enemy.⁴

The Sikhs then reached Chunar⁵ (?). To this place came Samru on the 8th February to bring about peace between the Jats and the Sikhs, and to use these forces in the cause of Qasim Ali against the British Government. Nawal Singh's Agent also came to the Sikhs and commenced peace parleys,

1. Calendar of Records, para 270. Captain Gabriel Harper from Fyzabad reported:—"It is apprehended that there will be a junction of the Mahrattas with the Sikhs whose march to the gates of Allahabad can only be prevented by an English army. The retreat of Abdalla's (Ahmad Shah Abdali) army to Kandahar has left the field open to these formidable armies". *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*, para 270.

3. Bengal Select Committee, 16th February, 1770, p. 70.

4. Calendar of Records, para 275.

5. Qasim Ali and a body of 5,000 troops that lay encamped at Kalpi marched to the fort of Moot (?) near "Supay Ka Racher" (?), where Marathas were assembling from all parts. At this place Samru presented Qasim Ali with 7 lakhs of rupees, some elephants and tents. Samru then went to the fort of Chunar where the Sikh army was halting. He promised Qasim Ali to return in 15 days, when Ghazi-ud-din was expected to join him. (Calendar of Records, para 284, dated Gohad, the 7th February, 1770). The Governor of Fort William in consequence ordered the Commanding Officer of the third Brigade to move without any delay to Caramnassa (?) and there to hold the troops, in readiness to march on the shortest warning. (Bengal Select Committee, 13th March, 1770, p. 100).

which after a fortnight's idle conference for an amicable settlement ended in smoke. The Sikhs therefore broke up their camp, and returned to their former encampment near Aligarh. A Jat force followed them. The Sikhs started plundering the Jat villages within sight of the Jat forces which were following them

The Jat army in pursuit of the Sikhs was divided into three parts. Their advance guard was under the charge of Rane Madec and Gopal Rao Maratha. It consisted of six companies of light horse and two pieces of cannon, one four and the other two pounder. Their main body under Nawal Singh was four miles distant and the rear guard still backward. The Sikhs, finding the Jat advance guard almost on their head and separated from their main body, fell on it with their full force of 20,000. The French and Maratha generals knowing that retreat was impossible as they had been surrounded on all sides, got ready to fight. A fierce engagement commenced at 9 o'clock in the morning on the 24th February. They fought with the Sikhs "with surprising intrepidity as long as they had munitions". The Maratha cavalry was almost destroyed and Gopal Rao being wounded with a musket shot was rendered unable for further action. Madec's men suddenly retreated and took shelter in a village behind them. The Sikhs besieged the village on all sides. At this moment one thousand musketeers and some cavalry of the main body came to the rescue of the vanguard. The battle again began with the same fury as in the morning, and it continued till 4 o'clock in the afternoon. This time Madec

suffered heavily, "the French Chief's party having almost perished, all horses killed or caught by the Sikhs". The Sikhs also gained one piece of cannon. The remnant of the Jat force was in a desperate situation both inside and outside the village. Just then arrived the whole of the Jat army on the scene. The Sikhs immediately raised the siege and took to flight. The Jat forces pursued them for five kos, and captured "some baggage and animals etc., abandoned by the Sikhs on their route and by this way a complete victory had been obtained by the Jats."

In this attack almost all the Jat chiefs were wounded with the exception of "the French Chief with one or two of his Europeans"—, and of six companies not three entire returned." On the side of the Sikhs, their general was wounded, two principal chiefs were slain, two other Sardars together with a great part of their detachments" were wounded; but "their killed found on the field of battle are not numerous". The total loss of the Jats "perhaps amounts to four or five hundred killed and wounded more than the double the enemy left in the field".

The eminent writer, Father Perre Wendel, the French missionary at Agra who supplied all these details of this battle, pays a tribute to the bravery of Gopal Rao and Rane Madec. "It must be confessed both chiefs behaved them with extraordinary courage and the whole Seik forces so long a time upon them they had the fortune to make a defence almost thought impossible being also much certain that they behaved too bold and inconsiderate

to expose themselves to such unavoidable a danger to perish all without the least hope of recovery. They gained themselves great reputation, it is true, and the Jauts being themselves now almost delivered of those plunderers must attribute the whole success to the personal bravery and intrepidity unparalleled of those chiefs, none of the other have contributed anything to the obtained advantage which notwithstanding was a pure hazard, Nawal Singh not being of resolution to attack the Seiks."

The great missionary does equal justice to the Sikhs, when he says that "they sustained the attack more vigorously than could be expected from a party of robbers. A party jumped from their horses, combating with fire-arms and making good discharge by platoons reinforcing and retiring as they thought proper having such a prodigious number for their supply".

The Sikhs fled late in the evening, and continued retreating the whole night and the following day, and halted at a distance of thirty kos (50 miles). They again retired to the Jat dominion in the neighbourhood of Delhi and started ravaging the country.¹

1. F. P. Wendel's letter dated Agra, the 3rd March, 1770 Imperial Records, Bengal Select Committee, 28th March 1770, pp. 120-4.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SULTANS OF GULBARGA

By M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

The problem of the chronology of the Bahamani Sultâns of Gulbarga has not yet been properly studied and satisfactorily worked out. It teems with interesting chronological problems some of which have not even been recognised so far.

Ferishta's work furnishes many details about each reign which are scarcely alluded to by other Muslim writers. But as is well-known many of Ferishta's statements and dates are questionable and lack in confirmation from other sources.

Unfortunately there are very few other works besides Ferishta which treat of the history of the Bahamani dynasty. Of the few extant works only *Tabakâti-Akbari* of Nizâm ud-Dîn Aḥmad, *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* of Alî bin Azîz-Ullâ Tabâtabâ are translated into English besides the history written by Muḥammad Kâsim Ferishta. While translating the *Burhân-i Ma'âsir* Major J. S. King gives several extracts relating to the history of the Bahamani dynasty from the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* and from *Târîkh-i-Jahân Arâ*, and *Sirâj ul-Kulub*, the last of which was written in A. H. 821 (A. D. 1418-19). But of these extracts there are none

from the last two of the above-mentioned works that have a bearing on the history and chronology of the Bahamani Sultâns that ruled at Gulbarga. Major J. S. King rendered a distinct service to the students of Muslim history and kept the non-Persian-knowing scholars working at the South-Indian and Muslim histories under a deep debt of gratitude by his translation of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âşir*. These English translations are my main authorities in writing this paper, besides the many valuable papers on the coins of the Bahamani dynasty.

Kulbarga or the modern Gulbarga in the Hyderabad state was the Capital of the Bahamani kingdom from the time of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Gangū Bahaman Shâh, who captured it from 'Puchârparî(?)' according to the *Burhân-i-Ma'âşir*, and Parvan Râo according to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk*. After making it his capital 'Alâ-ud-Dîn renamed it *Aḥsanâbâd*. Of the fourteen kings of the Bahamani dynasty the first eight ruled from Gulbarga and the remaining from Bîdar. In this paper we are concerned with those who ruled at Gulbarga. A list of these rulers is given below :

- (i) 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Bahaman Shâh.
- (ii) Muḥammad Shâh I.
- (iii) Mujâhid Shâh
- (iv) Dâ, ud-Shâh.
- (v) Muḥammad Shâh II.
- (vi) Ghîyâs-ud-Dîn Shâh.
- (vii) Shâms-ud-Dîn Shâh.
- (viii) Fîrûz Shâh.

Aḥmad, the ninth king of this dynasty and the successor of Fīrūz Shāh transferred the capital to Bidar, which was rechristened Muḥammadābād.

Aḥsanābād and Muḥammadābād were the two mint places of the Bahamanis. A coin of Muḥammad Shāh I reveals yet another place of mint, called Faṭḥābād. In the opinion of some scholars it is "an honorific name of Dhârūr, a fortified town in the Bīr district ". But this identification seems to be untenable; because, we know from the Burhān-i-Ma, āsir that Daulatābād itself was called Faṭḥābād .

An attempt is made here to settle the Chronology of the Bahamami Sultāns who ruled at Gulbarga. Tārīkh-i-Ferishta, Burhān-i-Ma, āsir and Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk give the periods of rule of each of the Bahamani kings and the initial or last years or both, of their reigns, as shown in the tabular form below.

Table I. (page 57a)

A glance at the above table clearly shows the difference in dates assigned to the Bahamani rulers by different authors.

Azīz-Ullā and Ferishta are not in agreement with each other about even the initial year of rule of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥaṣan. According to the latter it was Friday, 24 Rabi-ul-ākhir, 748 A. H., and according to the former, Friday, 28th of the month of Sha'bān, 748 A. H. A reference to Swami Kannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris shows that 28th Sha'bān falls on Monday and not on Friday. If the week

TABLE I

6		Aziz-Ullā	..	—	1	8	—	—	—
		Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk		—	—	—	—	—	—
		Nizām-ud-Dīn	..	—	1	20	7 Rajab	—	—
7	Shāms-ud-Dīn Shāh ..	Ferishta	..	—	5	7	17 Ramazān, 799 H.	—	—
		Aziz-Ullā	..	—	5	7	17 Ramazān, 799 H.	—	—
		Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk		—	—	—	—	—	—
		Nizām-ud-Dīn	..	—	5	9	17 Ramazān, 799 H.	—	—
8	Firūz Shāh ..	Ferishta	..	25	7	15	Thurs. 23 Šafar, 800H.	5 Shawwāl, 825 H.	
		Aziz-Ullā	..	25	7	11	23 Šafar, 800H.	11 Shawwāl, 825 H.	
		Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk		25	7	12	—	—	—
		Nizām-ud-Dīn	..	25	7	20	Thurs. 24 Šafar, 800H.	4 Shawwāl, 825 H.	

day is taken to be correct since it was quoted by both the initial date of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan according to Azîz-Ullâ should be Friday, 25 Sha'bân, 748 A. H. The last year of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn is 759 A. H., according to Ferishta, but according to Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk it is 761 A. H. Other writers do not mention it at all.

There is similar divergence among the authors in assigning dates and periods of rule to Muḥammad Shâh I, the son and successor of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh. While Ferishta and Azîz-Ullâ give him a period of rule of years 17, months 9, and 5 days and years 17, and 7 months respectively. Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk and Tabakât-i-Akbarî assign to him a rule of years 18, months 7, and 9 days and years 18, and 7 months respectively. The date of the death of Muḥammad Shâh I as given by Ferishta is 19 Zî-ul-Ka'dah, 776 A. H. Barhân-i-Ma'âşir and Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk state that he died in 775 A. H., and 780 A. H., respectively without furnishing any details. Other writers do not assign any dates either for his accession to the throne or for his death.

Ferishta agrees with Azîz-Ullâ regarding the initial and last years of rule of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh and of Fîrûz Shâh which are 748 A. H., and 825 A. H., respectively. Within these two dates the first eight reigns have to be adjusted. Since there is disagreement between these two authors about the date of accession of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn and the duration and last year of Muḥammad Shâh's reign it is not possible to proceed to settle the chronology of the Bahamanis starting from the first

reign for want of a sure and definite date. Let us, therefore, begin our computations and re-adjustment from the end, taking our stand on the last year of rule of Fīrūz Shāh.

The *Burhān-i-Maʿāṣir* and the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk* assign the same period of rule to Fīrūz Shāh with the difference of only a day. In the beginning of the 2nd *Ṭabakat* Azīz-Ullā says that the period of rule of the Bahamani Sultāns whose capital was Bīdar, began on the 5th Shawwāl, 825 A. H.⁵ This may well be accepted as the date of accession to the throne of Aḥmad Shāh I and the date of abdication of the throne of his predecessor, Fīrūz Shāh. Ferishta also assigns the same date for Aḥmad Shāh's coronation⁶. Since both the authors are in agreement with each other regarding the initial year of rule of Fīrūz Shāh's successor, Aḥmad Shāh, the date—5th Shawwāl, 825 A. H., may be accepted as the last date of Fīrūz Shāh.

Fīrūz Shāh's date of accession to the throne, and his predecessor, Shāms-ud-Dīn's last date were given by Ferishta and Azīz-Ullā as Friday, 23 Ṣafar, 800 A. H. It is, therefore, certain that he ruled from 23 Ṣafar, 800 A. H., to 5 Shawwāl, 825 A. H. The dates⁷ on the coins of Fīrūz Shāh also range from 800 A. H., to 825 A. H., testifying to the correctness of the period of rule, assigned to him above.

Shāms-ud-Dīn, the predecessor of Fīrūz Shāh ruled for five months and seven days according to Ferishta and Azīz-Ullā and five months and

nine days according to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk*. According to both the above writers Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, the predecessor of Shāms-ud-Dīn, was deposed on 17th Ramazān, 799 A. H. counting five months and seven days back from 23 Šafar, 800 A. H., we arrive exactly at the date 17 Ramazān, 799 A. H. This shows that the period of rule given by Ferishta is correct to the core. Shāms-ud-Dīn's coins furnish the date⁸ 799 A. H. His reign, therefore, commences in 799 A. H., on the 17th Ramazān and ends on 23 Šafar, 800 A. H.

According to Ferishta and Nizām-ud Dīn Aḥmad Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, the predecessor of Shāms-ud-Dīn, ruled for only one month and twenty days and according to Azīz-Ullā, one month and eight days. Ferishta and Azīz-Ullā state that Ghīyās-ud-Dīn's predecessor, Muḥammad Shāh II died on 26 Rajab, 799 A. H. But according to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk* his last year of rule is 801 A. H. Which of the two above dates is correct?

Some numismatists like H. M. Whittell⁹ and M. A. Suboor say that no coins of Ghīyās-ud-Dīn Shāh have yet been discovered. This is not correct. It was in as long ago as A. D. 1881 that James Gibbs brought to our notice some coins of this Bahamani Sultān. In the course of his article on the "Gold and silver coins of the Bahamani dynasty" contributed to "The Numismatic Chronicle" he writes as follows:—

"The short reign of Ghiasuddin, which extended over only six weeks (according to Ferishta) did produce coinage, since General

Cunningham has in his collection a copper coin of that prince which reads Ghiâs-ed-dunya-wa-ud- dîn; but it is not dated".

Later on, writing in the same journal in 1898, on 'The coins of the Bahamani dynasty. O. Codrington mentions some more copper coins of Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn with their legends on the obverse and reverse. Very recently in 1930, P.S. Tarapore has brought to light a rare rupee³ of Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn, bearing the date 799 A. H. The legend reads "Abul Muzaffar Ghiyâsud-dunyâ Waddîn Tehamtan Shâh Sultân". It was minted at Aḥsanâbâd.

There is, thus, conclusive evidence to show that the sixth Bahamani Sultân had his own coinage even during that short period of his reign. The latest date furnished by the coins of Muḥammad Shâh II, predecessor of Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn, is 799 A. H. Numismatic evidence is, thus, helpful to prove that the last and initial years of the reign of Muḥammad Shâh II and his successor, Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn fall in the same year, 799 A. H. On the strength of this evidence 801 A. H., the date given in the Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk, has to be rejected. It is, therefore, evident that both Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn and his successor, Shâms-ud-Dîn reigned during the same year, 799 A. H. which commenced on 5th October, 1396 A. D., since that year is found imprinted on both of their coins. The intervening period between 26 Rajab and 17 Ramzân of 799 A. H., the dates for the death of Muḥammad Shâh II and of Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn respectively, comes to one month and twenty-one days and tallies with the period of rule assigned to the latter both by Ferishta

and Azîz-Ullâ with only a difference of a day. Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn's reign, therefore, extended from 26th Rajab to 17th Ramazân, 799 A. H. We, thus, find that Azîz-Ullâ's date for the death of Muḥammad Shâh II proves to be correct.

Muḥammad Shâh II is given a period of rule of 19 years, 9 months and 24 days by Ferishta and Nizâm-ud-Dîn Aḥmad. But the other two authors of the histories of Burhân-i-Ma'âşir and Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk differ from them. Of these two authors while Azîz-Ullâ credits him with a period of rule of 19 years and 9 months the author of Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk assigns him a period of rule of 19 years 6 months and 5 days. According to Ferishta and Azîz-Ullâ Muḥammad Shâh's initial year of rule is 780 A. H. Other writers do not give his date of accession to the throne. We have now to test if his initial year of rule as given by Ferishta and Azîz-Ullâ is correct with the help of the dates on his coins.

The year 784 A. H., is the earliest date for Muḥammad Shâh II furnished by a silver coin of his in the collection of P. S. Tarapore who mentions this in his paper on 'Some rare coins in my cabinet'¹⁴. Yet another date earlier by one year, that is 783 A. H., is also known from a coin in the Coin Cabinet of Prof. E. E. Speight. He contributed a paper to the 'Islamic Culture' on 'the coins of the Bahamani kings of the Deccan,'¹⁵ in which he informs us that that coin was minted at AḥsanÂbâd. Coins of Muḥammad Shâh II bearing dates earlier than 783 A. H., have not yet come to

light. The next coins to furnish a date earlier than 783 A. H., are those of Mujâhid Shâh, the third Bahamani Sultân, whose latest date as furnished by them is 779 A. H.

Many numismatists like H. M. Whittell, Major R. P. Jackson, M. A. Suboor wrote that there are no coins of Muḥammad Shâh's predecessor, Dâ,ūd Shâh. Indeed we have his coins but they are very rare. Coins issued by this Sultân were noticed in their articles by Prof. E. E. Speight and by O. Codrington¹⁷. The coins, however, furnish no date. So, it is not possible to determine the initial year of Muḥammad Shâh's reign with the help of coins. If he is conceded a rule of 19 years and odd, as was given by the Muslim Chroniclers his reign begins somewhere about 780 A. H. To be precise, if the period of rule of 19 years, 6 months, and 5 days of Muḥammad Shâh II is counted back from the 26th Rajab, 799 A. H., the date of his death, then we arrive at the date, 21 Muḥarram 780 A. H., for his accession to the throne or in other words, for the death of his predecessor, Dâ,ūd Shâh.

Dâ,ūd Shâh's rule lasted for one year, one month and three days according to Burhân-i-Ma,âsir and Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk and one month and three days according to Ṭabakât-i-Akbarī, and one month and five days according to Târîkh-i-Ferishta. Which of these periods is correct ?

As stated already, Dâ,ūd Shâh's coins furnish no dates. The initial year of rule of Dâ,ūd Shâh has now to be determined by fixing the last year of rule of Mujâhid Shâh.

According to Ferishta Mujâhid Shâh died on the 17th Zî-ul-Hijjah, 779 A. H. It is 18th date according to Azîz-Ullâ. Both Azîz-Ullâ and Nizâm-ud-Dîn Aḥmad give him a period of rule of one year, one month and nine days. But Ferishta says that he died "after a reign of not quite three years"¹⁸. He is not explicit about the duration of his rule. In view of the evidence of coins Ferishta seems to be somewhat nearer the truth.

The earliest¹⁹ and the latest dates²⁰ furnished by Mujâhid Shâh's coins, are 777 A. H., and 779 A. H., respectively. A gold coin²¹ of Mujâhid Shâh from the Aḥsanâbâd mint furnishes the date 777 A.H. His name on his coins reads as follows: Abul Mughâzi Alâud-dunya-wad-dîn-Mujâhid Shâh. None of his coins so far discovered supply a date later than 779 A. H. It is, therefore, evident from the numismatic evidence that Mujâhid Shâh's rule extended from 777 A. H. (A. D. 1375-76) to 779 A. H. (A. D. 1377-78). He is said to have been killed in the month of Zî-ul-Hijjah of 779 A. H., both by Ferishta and Azîz-Ullâ.

If the duration of the reign of Dâūd Shâh is taken to be more than one year as stated in the Burhân-i-Ma,âşir and Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk his initial year of rule falls in 778 A. H. which is apparently wrong in the light of the facts mentioned above. So, the periods of rule given by either Ferishta or Nizam-ud-Dîn Aḥmad, namely either one month and five days or one month and three days, seem to be correct. If the former period as given by Ferishta is taken into account the date of Dâūd

Shāh's accession to the throne comes to 17 Zī-ul-Hijjah, 779 A. H. This is exactly the date furnished by Ferishta for Mujāhid's death. Since Ferishta and Azīz-Ullā are in agreement with each other regarding this event—the difference of one day being negligible—the period of rule of one month and five days seems to be correct.

Now, let us come to Mujāhid's reign. His latest date, as we know, is 17 Zī-ul-Hijjah, 779 A.H. His date of accession to the throne has, now, to be determined. According to Ferishta Muḥammad Shāh I died on 19 Zī-ul-Ka'dah 776 A. H. Without giving any details Burhān-i-Ma,ʿāṣir and Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk give the year of his death as 775 A. H., and 780 A. H., respectively. But the latest date furnished by his coins is 777 A. H. Since this year is found on the coins of both Muḥammad Shāh I and of his son, Mujāhid it is evident that the latter succeeded his father on the throne during that year. As the dates on Muḥammad Shāh's coins prove that he was reigning even in 777 A. H. the dates 775 A. H., 776 A. H., and 780 A. H., given by Burhān-i-Ma,ʿāṣir, Ferishta and Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk respectively for the last year of his rule, have to be discarded. If the death of Muḥammad Shah I occurred in the month of Zī-ul-Ka'dah as stated by Ferishta it must be in the year 777 A. H. Therefore, the date of Mujāhid Shah's accession to the throne might be 19 Zī-ul-Ka'dah, 777 A. H. If this date is taken into account the duration of Mujāhid's reign would be two years and twenty-nine days. If 19th is a slip for 9th then it would be 2 years 1 month and 9 days.

The dates on the coins of Muḥammad Shâh I range from 760 A. H., to 777 A. H.²³ With 760 A. H., as his initial year of rule the reign of Muḥammad Shâh I extends over a period of 17 years as stated by Azîz-Ullâ and Ferishta and not over a period of 18 years as was given in *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* and *Tabakât-i-Akbarî*. According to Ferishta the duration of his reign is precisely 17 years, 9 months, and 5 days, but Azîz-Ullâ gives it as 17 years and 7 months. With a difference of nine days *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* and *Tabakât-i-Akbarî* assign to Muḥammad Shâh I the same period of rule; the former work gives 18 years, 7 months, and 9 days and the latter, 18 years and 7 months.

The latest date²⁴ of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan, the first Bahamani Sultân and the earliest one of his son and successor, Muḥammad Shâh I as furnished by their coins, happens to be 760 A. H. Therefore, the dates 759 A. H., and 761 A. H., for the last year of rule of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn as given by Ferishta and the author of the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk*, have to be rejected²⁵. The duration of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn's reign is 11 years, 2 months, and 7 days according to all writers with the exception of the author of the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* who assigns a period of rule of 13 years, 10 months, and 27 days.

Now, from the evidence of coins it is quite evident that all authorities have gone wrong in giving the duration of rule of the first three Bahamani Sultâns. As such, the extent of the three reigns has to be readjusted.

Of all the authors it is only Ferishta that furnishes the dates with details for the coronation of

'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan and for the death of Muḥammad Shâh and Mujâhid Shâh. Discarding the years which are definitely proved to be wrong and assuming that the respective months of Rabî-ul-awwâl and Zi-ul-Kâdah in which 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan and Muḥammad Shâh I are said to have died let us see if the dates of the first three reigns may be fixed so as to accommodate the months specified above and any one of the periods of rule given by the different authors to the respective rulers with as little amendment as possible and yet at the same time as to be confirmed by numismatic evidence.

It is needless to repeat here that the last dates of the first three Sultâns as settled by their coins are 760 A. H., 777 A. H., and 779 A. H., respectively. In view of these dates and the observations made above the dates of the first three Bahamani Sultâns have been tentatively settled as shown below:—

(i) 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh.—

Accession: Friday, 24 Rabî-ul-âkhir,
748 A. H.

Death: 1 Rabî-ul-awwâl, 760 A. H.

Period of rule: 11 yrs., 10 m., and 7 days.

(ii) Muḥammad Shâh I.—

Accession: Rabî-ul-awwâl, p. 760 A. H.

Death: 9 Zî-ul-Kâdah, 777 A. H.

Period of rule: 17 yrs., 8 m., and 9 days.

(iii) Mujâhid Shâh.—

Accession: 9 Zî-ul-Kâdah, 777 A. H.

Death: 17 Zî-ul-Hijjah, 779 A. H.

Period of rule: 2 yrs., 1 m., and 9 days.

A word of explanation seems to be necessary

here. I accepted the date given by Ferishta for the accession of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan for this reason. Both Ferishta and Azîz-Ullâ are in agreement with each other regarding the week day though their dates for the event differ. On consulting the Indian Ephemeris I found that Azîz-Ullâ's date is irregular. Hence I accepted Ferishta's date.

The period of rule given to 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh according to the above arrangement tallies exactly with that assigned to him by the Arabic History of Guzerat. According to this work the duration of his rule is 11 years, 10 months, and 7 days.²⁶

The dates of the Bahamani Sultâns who ruled at Gulbarga have, thus, to be corrected and their chronological scheme formulated if the dates furnished by their coins, their periods of rule, the months and dates of their accession to the throne or of their death or of their abdication to the throne as given by different authors are to be accommodated with as little amendment as possible. The results arrived at above are shown in a tabular form given below.

Table II (Page 466a).

Foot Notes.

Abbreviations.

J. A. S. B.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

A. R. A. D. H. E. H. N. D.—Annual Report of the *Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions*.

B. N. J.—*The British Numismatic Journal*.

I. C.—*Islamic Culture*.

J. B. B. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

N. C.—*Numismatic Chronicle*.

1. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII (1904), Part I, extra number, pp 6-7 ; *Burhân-i-Ma,âsir* (Trans) by Major J. S. King ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 384, N. p. 2.

2. A. R. A. D. H. E. H. N. D. F. 1339, p. 27.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

4. *Burhân-i-Ma,âsir*, p. 9.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

6. Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 396.

7. 'The coins of the Bahmani Kings of Kulbarga' by H. M. Whittell—J. A. S. B., N. S., XXXVII (1923).

8. 'The dominions, emblems and coins of the South Indian dynasties' by Major R. P. Jackson—B. N. J., Vol. IX (1913.)

9. J. A. S. B. N. S., XXXVII (1923).
10. 'Historical facts gleaned from the coins of the Bahamani dynasty'—*Ibid*, N. S., XXXIX (1925), Art. 261.
11. 'Gold and Silver coins of the Bahamani dynasty' by the Hon. James Gibbs, Vol. I (1881), Third Series, pp. 91-115.
12. 'Coins of the Bahamani dynasty' by O. Codrington, Vol. XVIII (1898), Third Series, pp. 253-273.
13. J. A. S. B., N.S. XLII (1,930), Art. 305—'A rare Bahamani Rupee' by P. S. Tarapore.
14. *Ibid*, N. S. XLIV (1933), Art. 313.
15. I. C., Vol. IX (1935), pp. 268-81.
16. *Vide* papers by the Hon. James Gibbs, H. M. Whittell, and Major R. P. Jackson.
17. 'On copper coins of the Bahamani dynasty' by Surgeon Major, O. Codrington—J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI (1883-85), pp. 99-104;
I. C., Vol. IX (1935), pp. 268-281.
18. Brigg's *Herishla*, Vol. II, p. 341.
19. A gold coin of Mujâhid Shâh bears the date A. H. 777—*vide*, Major R. P. Jackson's paper in B. N. J., Vol. IX (1913).
20. Silver Taukas of Mujâhid Shâh furnish the date 779 A. H.—See, N. C., Vol. I and XVIII (Third Series) and N. S. XXXVII.
21. See note 19 above.
22. B. N. J., Vol. IX; N. C., Vol. I (Third Series); and N. S. XXXVII.
- His silver coins furnish dates from A. H. 760 to 777, and his gold coins from A. H. 763 to 776
23. Muḥammad Shâh's silver coins furnish

the date 760 A. H.—*vide* Major R. P. Jackson's paper referred to before.

24. J. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. III, No. 2, N. S. XLVII (1937-38); 'Alā-ud-Dīn's Silver tauka bears the date A. H. 760—See Whittell's papers in J. A. S. B. (1918), N. S. XXXII, and (1923) N. S. XXXVII.

25. As a matter of fact, on the evidence of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's coins bearing dates A. H. 760 H. M. Whittell questioned if the latest date of his reign as given by Ferishta is correct in his paper on 'The Reign of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Bahaman Shāh'—J. A. S. B., (1918), N. S. XXXII.

26. *Arabic History of Guzerat*, Vol. III, p.159—quoted by Ishwari Prasad in his "*History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*", p. 245.

POOREE ENGLISH SCHOOL (1835-40)

By PRIYARANJAN SEN

Wilkinson, himself a chief patron and a liberal subscriber for education, had been trying to organise an English and Vernacular school at Pooree and his letter to J. Grant, Esq., Apothecary General, resident in Calcutta, dated 17-6-1835 from Puri, states that they at Puri had already collected Rs. 1,005 as donation and Rs. 867 as subscription (600 rupees as monthly subscription, 180 as quarterly, and 87 as yearly). Wilkinson remarks : "Our schools will be in the Town of Pooree and all or nearly all our scholars will be Hindus as there are scarcely any Mahomedans in the District." Writing in June he seems to be anxious for a good master of English, almost assuring Grant that the school buildings would be ready by 1st October.¹

The appointment of a master for Puri was however by no means an easy job ; at least no master was available at Puri on the 1st October as hoped for in Wilkinson's letter noted above. Gunganarain Bose had been appointed meanwhile, but he did not attend at once. On the contrary, in his letter dated October 7th, 1835², we find him

1. General Committee of Public Instruction—Correspondence Vol. 40, pp. 1-4.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 5-7.

wrangling for some conveyance allowance, Rs. 100, considerably more than the poor man's monthly earnings as salary. Whatever other people might think of a journey from Calcutta to Puri, Gunganarain could not relish the idea. "The distance of Pooree from Calcutta being considerable enough to cause a journey of more than a fortnight in travelling from the latter to the former place, whether by land direct to it, or by water as far as Balasore, and thence by land down to the destined place, I would beg that you would request the General Committee of Public Instruction to allow me the charge of a conveyance to enable me to prosecute this long journey with expedition and ease."

Any way, Gunganarain reached Pooree on the 10th November, 1835 and we find him submitting a Return¹ of the students of the Pooree School for the 1st quarter of 1836 in obedience to the instructions of the Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction. This might be taken as the first report of the first English School for Pooree. The total number of students was 25, of whom 12 had been admitted during the last quarter of 1835, and all of them were Hindus. Commenting on the smallness of the number, Gunganarain wrote: "The inhabitants of the Town, chiefly consist of the Priests of the Temple of Juggernaut, to whom a knowledge of the Shaster is more profitable than the English Language"². As it was, most of the students admitted were the children of Government officers.

1- *Ibid*, pp. 22-23.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

The School House was formerly the cutchery and residence of the Sudder Aumeen, and stood in a central and airy part of the town, large enough for the accommodation of 50 scholars—probably the highest they could hope for at the time—the only disadvantage of the building being that the roof was rather low. It is curious to note that the report complains of a great want of an Oriya-English dictionary, that the boys might understand the meanings of words, Gunganarain the schoolmaster ending with the remark “I am not aware of the existence of such a work”. Quarter of a century before this, the College of Fort William had published a Vocabulary of Oriya and English words, and it could be expected that Gunganarain would be acquainted with the work. In his Return he frankly explains that “the school having only just opened, and almost all the students having entered entirely ignorant of the alphabet, none are sufficiently advanced in reading and writing, to commence any particular branch of study.”

Yet the students numbering twenty-five were allotted to four classes. The fourth or last class (containing eight students—Hoorseekess Doss, Aunund Singh, Loknauth Sing, Jugbundoo Doss, Narain Mytee, Aununt Ghose, Benod Doss Mettre, Judoonauth Dutt) comprised of those who were not yet quite familiar with compound letters, some so far advanced as to read syllables of three letters. The next higher (3rd) class had on its rolls four students only—Gangaram Doss, Raghoonauth Doss, Rogoo Sing, Bowreebundoo Doss. They could go through

easy reading lessons composed of words of five letters and could spell them with tolerable correctness. They had no great fault in their conduct and when they were absent it was on adequate grounds. They were also "always seen intent on their books". This last is an eloquent index of the educational standard of those days.

The six students of the second class—Modoosoodun Mookerjee, Modoosoodun Chatterjee, Unta gee Singh, Gunnesh Santra, Deenbundoo Sahu and Modoosoodun Dutt—were however neither impeccable in their conduct nor intent on their books. But they could read easily short lessons, spell the most difficult words occurring in them with great accuracy, and were just learning to write.

There were seven students (Gopee Bundoo Doss, Khetro Chunder Audy, Rogunauth Audy, Moothee Lall Sain, Ramgopaul Debsurman, Sudanund Ghose, Saboo Panee) in the first class varying in age from 7 to 15 years. They had nearly finished the first number of the New Spelling Book. They could also write from copies and spell and explain in their own language whatever they read in their English text; they were well-behaved and attentive to lessons.

The promise (?) the Return showed was not kept up. Towards the end of the year, rather, six months after the submission of the Return, there is bad news from J. C. R. Payne, the Local Secretary, in his letter dated 9th November, 1836¹ addressed to J. C. C. Sutherland, Secretary to the

1. *Ibid*, pp. 69-71.

General Committee of Public Instruction. While reporting very well on Bose's management, it states at the same time that Bose had frequent attacks of fever and suggests that he should be relieved of his charge. This is accompanied by a recommendation that he might make a very good teacher in some of the Colleges, or Moffussil Schoolmaster at some other station, "but", we read on, "the sea air here disagrees with most Bengallees and up-country men of a delicate constitution". This is amusing news indeed because the holy town had been long a place of pilgrimage and few complaints had been made on the above score.

Gunganarain's Return for the 3rd quarter of 1836 had not been very assuring, however, about the immediate success of the school. On the contrary he notes a disinclination in the boys to receive an English education. But he hopes for better times to come. "There had not been, it appears, any regular Vernacular Schools in this Town, till the last year, when the philanthropic gentlemen of the station established several by means of their private contribution"¹. These would, he hoped, instil a love of knowledge into the minds of the students so that they would seek admission into the English school.

Early in 1837 W. S. R. Davies came to Pooree school as its 'Headmaster', a new designation. Ignorant of both Oriya and Bengali on his first arrival, he subsequently picked up both the languages. In his letter to J. C. R. Payne, the Secretary

of the Local Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 1st March 1839¹, Davies prayed for an increment to his allowance of a hundred rupees out of which, he averred, he had to pay Rs. 30 for palki expenses !

An interesting reference was made² by the Secretary of the Local Committee of Public Instruction to the General Committee regarding punishments inflicted upon native boys in the Public schools, about which there seemed a strong difference of opinion. The Local Committee had interdicted the use of the ratten in their schools, and directed that the young offender should stand up for a length of time in a prominent part of the school. It strongly held that 'no man is so invariably cool and unsusceptible of annoyance from the vexations of a school as to avoid even punishing beyond what is absolutely necessary, or beyond any prescribed limit. Naturally it asked the General Committee if it was the custom in the Hooghly and other schools to use the ratten. It is refreshing to note that T. A. Wise, Secretary of the General Committee, intimated in reply the General Committee's disapproval of the infliction of corporal punishment in the schools under their authority, and that the Local Committee was misinformed as to the practice in the Hooghly College. The order in force there which was quoted in Wise's letter dated 6th May 1839 read as follows:—

"Corporal punishment is not permitted on any pretence whatever. When admonition, degra-

1. *Ibid*, pp. 255—258.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 250—265.

dation in the class, and tasks fail of the desired effect, the Pupil is to be reported to the Head Master, and Principal. Should a boy be thus incorrigible he is to be expelled, and his name is to be struck out of the Books of the College.''

Davies was absorbed into Government executive service and could no longer work as the Headmaster ; he became Secretary to the Local Committee. The mastership of the school was offered to W. E. Capon who however in his application to the General Committee dated 8th August, 1839 ¹ prayed for extension of joining time so as to enable him to start on 20th September. Apparently the General Committee advised him to start immediately; for we find Capon intimating on 31st August ² that he would start that very evening, but as the Dak expenses amounted to Rs. 200 he might be allowed by the Committee half the amount. Alas ! it was not to be ; and Capon in his letter to the General Committee dated 17th September ³ states that he had spitted blood again and again and had been obliged to return after having proceeded to a short distance.

Now that Capon was out of the picture, the General Committee had to select another candidate, and it found its man in Henry Walpole who accepted the situation on October 30 on a monthly salary of Rs. 100 and joined his appointment at Pooree on 5th December. ⁴

1. *Ibid*, pp. 319—21.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 323—25.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 327—29.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 391.

A little more than five weeks later, Davies sent the Report of the School to the General Committee on the 16th January, 1840. The letter¹ accompanying the Report states that the Local Committee not only pays the expenses of the different Vernacular schools but also meets the expenditure of the English school on certain heads—for the assistant teacher, the Duftery, the monitors etc. The College had three departments: ' (1) English and Vernacular, (2) Sanskrit, (3) Mohammedan. There were no students in (3), in Sanskrit the number of pupils rose to 37, while in (1) the number was 42. In the Branch Oriya schools there were ninety pupils on the rolls. It is very strange that there were no Christian nor Mohammedan students.

The Secretary's letter complains about inadequacy of funds and want of text-books. Of a province like Orissa where education through the vernacular seems to be fairly well spread, it writes: "there does not at present exist a single work of any kind which could be adopted as a class book," and proposes to publish translations of approved works if the General Committee helps liberally. The following excerpt will be read with interest at this time of the day. "General information cannot be spread through the country by means of English education alone."

About a month later, on the 20th April 1840², the Local Secretary reports to the General

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 417—19.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 435.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 427—56.

Committee increase in the number of pupils by about 35, the total figure for the English Department thus coming up to about eighty. But at the same time it complained about the inefficiency of teachers: "not considering at present Mr. Walpole's want of acquaintance with the dialects spoken either in Bengal or Orissa which forms no small obstacle in itself to the course of instruction, the allotment of the Head Master's time with reference to the classes will sufficiently prove that some alteration in the Establishment is necessary.....The Local Committee therefore would strongly recommend the appointment of a native teacher on a moderate salary in the capacity of assistant." The Secretary laid special emphasis on one particular:—"no individual who would prove wanting in the knowledge of the Bengallee should be selected."

The letter is remarkable also on account of its ignorance of works in the Oriya language, and its attitude in general to the people of the province, though the writer is wonderfully correct in his prescription of a cure through the school—"while therefore endeavouring to promote the cause of European literature among the few it must look to the spreading of the elements of general and useful knowledge among the mass by means more genial to the condition of the people." It was getting the 1st part of the Heetopadesa, viz., "mitralabha" translated and printed at Cuttack, the cost being Rs. 150 (Cos.) for 300 copies consisting of about 60 pages 12mo.

While the note of this letter is generally optimistic the letter dated the 27th April¹ (just a week later) contains strange news: Mr. Walpole has given notice of resignation, on grounds of ill-health, of his appointment as the Headmaster of the Pooree School with effect from 1st May next! The Local Secretary therefore presses his point: "unless some assurance can be given that the school shall not again be closed so suddenly there is a great probability that the more respectable natives will withdraw their children and subscriptions.It should be intimated to future candidates.....that the individual appointed shall give two months' notice of resignation, and that no shorter period shall be allowed except extreme urgency should be certified by a medical certificate".

Within nine days of Walpole's resignation an application² was submitted by A. A. O'Brien who had been an assistant overseer under Becher but who had been recently dismissed by his then executive officer. O'Brien's application was recommended³ by W. Taylor, one of the two chief patrons of the school, and, pending the final sanction of the General Committee the Local Committee placed him in temporary charge. But on 17th July, when members of the school proceeded to the school house to witness the half-yearly examination, they found O'Brien in a state of

1. *Ibid*, pp 457-8.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 463-4.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 475,5.

intoxication and the Local Committee immediately suspended him. ¹.

On the 27th August ² the members of the Local Committee and subscribers to the Pooree school met at a public meeting and unanimously passed resolutions :

- (1) abolishing the Sanscrit school and recommending the same of the English school as they did not offer sufficient prospects of advantage, no pupils coming forward to study for any other purpose than obtaining official employment of an inferior grade ;
- (2) giving up the three Oriya schools ;
- (3) converting the English school house into a Vernacular school on a liberal scale ;
- (4) appointing a Headmaster thereto on a salary of Rs. 15, and three subordinate teachers on Rs. 7 each ;
- (5) recommending that candidates for the appointments be examined at Puri centre ;
- (6) arranging to spend the amount of public subscription in printing and publishing translations into Oriya ; and
- (7) applying to the General Committee for Rs. 52 to run the establishment.

From June 1835 to August 1840 the enterprise had been kept up ; it was one of the first attempts to organise an English School at Puri, and though

1. *Ibid*, pp. 487.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 501-5.

the enterprise failed, the enthusiasts did not give up the attempt altogether but apparently waited for better days ; and the next attempt at Cuttack must have (at least morally) owed to it the success it achieved.

ON GARUḌA

By WALTER RUBEN, ANKARA (TURKEY)

Garuḍa, the bird of Viṣṇu and the enemy of the snakes is well-known but not every one keeps in mind how complicated is the history of this bird. In his careful analysis of the *Suparṇâdhyâya* Charpentier¹ has collected much valuable material but he has not sufficiently realised that under the cover of this name one finds a variety of ideas and types of birds which can and must be distinguished.

TYPE A: THE SUNBIRD

The sun in the *Rigveda* is sometimes called *suparṇa* or *garutmat*². Both are in later times names of Garuḍa and the second name is etymologically connected with Garuḍa³. That means that in those times the sun was sometimes regarded as a bird (Macdonell 31), a conception common to many old tribes. The sunbird on the world-tree is an old conception preserved in Indian religion in the shape of Garuḍa on the flagstaff in front of Viṣṇu's temples⁴. Wooden eagles and geese, the

1. Charpentier, *Die Suparnasage*, Upsala-Leipzig 1922.

2. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* 1897, 39.

3. But: *garutmat* means "having wings" and *garuḍa* "devouring" according to Indian tradition. *Gar-devoure* is an Indoeuropean root, but *garut-wing* is not, and therefore these old explanations cannot both be true. The *ḍ* looks un-aryan.

4. Charpentier 349; cfr. the goose in front of the sanctuary of Ortiki: Eisenschmiede (cfr. n. f) 199. The common falcon is mostly kept on similar poles.

birds on which the shamans ride in Central Asia are represented on wooden posts ¹. The winged disc of the sun on a post is represented in some reliefs of the Hittites and in Egypt the winged sun carries two snakes, reminding one of the enmity carried on by Garuḍa and other birds ² against the snakes ³. A sunbird is the Egyptian phoenix ⁴ whose story seems to have been told in some place in India ⁵, perhaps an Arabian import. Some mythological relation exists between the sun and the peacock, the son of Garuḍa (Charpentier 379; Eisenschmiede 198).

TYPE B: THE STORMBIRD.

The eagle in Greek mythology carries the lightning, and the lightning cannot harm the eagle

1. Cfr. f. i. C. Hentze, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* IX, 1933, fig. 5.

2. f. i. the Ibis: Herodot II, 75; the peacock etc.

3. Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien by the author, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vol. XXXVII supplement. Leiden 1939, pg. 247 sq.

4. Herodot II, 73; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie* II, 1906, 795, sp. He was a red heron Charpentier 345 refers to Tawneys note on *Kathāsaritśāgara* I, 54: Garuḍa was a heron (*Argea argila*); but this note is missing in Tawneys second edition. Charpentier ib. refers to Alberuni who described G. as a stork. Charp. 372 sqq. therefore believes that the Homeric fight of the cranes and the dwarfs is to be regarded as depending upon the fight of Gar. against the *Niṣādas*. But more similar to this legend of Homer is *Bakāsura* and the child *Kṛṣṇa*.-Johansson, according to Charpentier 334 compared Garuḍa in the *Galava*-adventure (cfr. Type G) to the *Phenix*.

5. Charpentier 338 quotes such a story from Conti who visited India in the XVth century; Conti calls that bird *semenda* which according to Charp. may be compared with *bharuṇḍa*. But in the *Malayan Rāsuayāne* there occurs a bird *Sruvenda*, similar to Garuḍa; he carries on his back *Arjuna Karttavīrya* (Stutterheim, *Rāmalegenden* and *Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, München 1925, I. 72).

(Gruppe, cfr. n. 8, p 793) as the vajra cannot harm Garuḍa who brings the rain (cfr. *infra*) The thunder is made by the bird on which the shaman rides, believe the Altai-Turks ¹. The great miraculous birds of the different types come along with storm, making enormous wind with their wings. The Malayans speak of Gerda (=Garuaḍ) when the sun is suddenly covered by a cloud (Charpentier 337). A stormbird is the Zu of the Babylonians who carried off the tablets of fate and thus deprived Enlil of his sovereignty; Zu flew to a remote mountain and was finally killed by Marduk ². Far away in the hills lives the thunderbird of the North-American fairy tales ³; the eagle of these North Americans brings rain and thunder (167), and another thunderbird was in possession of the fountain which later on the raven brought to the men (203).

TYPE C: THE BIRD OF THE SOULS.

It is told in the Mahābhārata that far in the north (cfr. Type G and n. 93) in the region of the Uttarakurus the Bharuṇḍa-bird buries the dead ⁴. This is a reference to the Persian and Tibetan custom to expose the human corpse to the vultures⁵. The same custom once prevailed in

1. U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, Helsinki 1938, 205 sq.

2. Or by Lugalmaraḍa: Ungnad, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier*, Jena 1921, 151 sqq. 173, 134.

3. Krickeberg, *Indianermärchen aus Nordamerika*, Jena 1924, p. 188.

4. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* 1915, p 20.

5. Ghose, *The Aryan trail in India and Iran*, Calcutta 1937 § 158 sqq., 345, 96 sqq. Cfr. the wrongly so-called Harpyies, the soulbirds on the monument of Xanthus (Lydia).

Harappa in the prehistoric culture of the Indus-valley. There have been found some burial pots on which peacocks are designed and in the body of each of these birds there is designed a small human being ¹. The Paharias in Sikkim believe that the cock leads the souls to heaven (Anthropos IV, 1909, 671) and the raven did the same according to German and Tibetan ² mythology. A remainder of the conception of the soul-bird may be that Bhūriśravas after his brave death on the battle field, by the order of Kṛṣṇa is carried to heaven riding on Garuḍa (Mbh. VII, 143, 48).

TYPE D: THE BIRD BRINGING SOME IMPORTANT GOOD.

There are many old legends of how a bird brought the fire from heaven or hell: the wren, the swallow etc. (Charpentier 377). In South America, the country of the condor (cfr. Charpentier 366, n. 1), the so-called kings-vulture plays an important role in many tales as the possessor of the sun (cfr. type A) and of the fire of both of which he was deprived by some hero ³. To get the fire mankind killed a tapir and with its corpse attracted cunningly the vulture (cfr. ib. 53). The bird came and prepared some fire to roast the tapir; suddenly a man stole the fire (ib. 186). This kings-vulture is

1. Annual bibliography of Indian Archaeology XII, 1937, Leiden 1939, 6. This proves that the guess of Charpentier 357 n. 2 holds true.

2. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhismes*, 1900, p. 171: raven-dancing-mask carries of the souls; its Mongolian name is *kərië* (=Garuḍa?).

3. Koch-Grünberg, *Indianermärchen aus Südamerika*, Jena 1921, p. 218.

also in possession of the maize. A hero by a similar trick besmeared himself with blood (cfr. Type F) and thus caught the daughter of the kings-vulture. He married her, she gave him the shape of a kings vulture and then he came to heaven and stole the maize from his father-in-law (110 sq.): in this tale the possessor and the robber of the maize are vultures.

With the bird which stole the fire, some scholars have compared the famous eagle (śyena) of the Ṛgveda which stole the soma. But in the Ṛgveda the story is as complicated as in the last mentioned South American one:

(a) in some places it is told that the eagle brought the soma to Indra ¹,

(b) in other places the eagle (which is not called Garuḍa) steals the soma and carries it to mankind (IV, 26, 4sq).

(a) The first version can easily be understood. Altars were built in the shape of an eagle; the eagle carries the offerings of soma to heaven. Some scholars have compared with this Indian conception the Greek story of how the eagle brought the nectar to Zeus ², and the German story of how Odin in the shape of an eagle stole the mead of the giant Suttung and carried it

1. Charpentier 149: ṚV IV, 27, 5; Charpentier 152: III, 43, 7 ect.; Charpentier 292 Nr. 15; cfr. *Infra*: in the Mbh Garuḍa carries the stolen soma back to Indra.

2. Gruppe (cfr. n. 8) p. 793.; Pauli-Wissowa, *Reallexikon der griechischen Altertumskunde* I, 1810.

to heaven¹. But the Greek story is related only in a single very obscure text (Athenaeus XI, 80, 491B) and the German story is, that Odin on that occasion had taken the shape of a snake². It is, therefore, improbable that there was an Indoeuropean myth of that kind as these scholars believe.

But it may be that Indra himself once took the shape of the eagle to win the Soma, as did Zeus sometimes, mostly in love affairs (Pauli—Wissowa 374, qs. and as did Verethraghna in the Avesta³.

In the Avesta too there is a miraculous eagle (saena-šyena) which in some unknown way is

1. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, Stuttgart 1923, 72 sq., 169; Macdonell 114, 152; Keith, Religion and philosophy of the Veda, HOS 31/2, 1925, 193.

2. E. Mogk in J. Hoops, Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde IV, Strassburg 1918/9, p. 562.

3. Oldenberg (cfr. n. 20) p. 72; Keith (ib.) 62; Encyclopaedie de l'Islam s. v. Simurgh: some feather-magic of Verethraghna.—Rv. X, 119 is a monolog of Indra drunk with soma, according to Indian tradition; and modern interpreters believe that it belongs rather to a Agni or the poet. But in VV. 7 and 11 two pakṣas of the speaker are mentioned which are translated as sides of him. I propose to translate this word as wing and to ascribe this monolog to the eagle who carries away the soma and is drunk; he boasts that heaven and earth are not as even one of his wings and that one of his wings is in heaven and the other one he drags along the earth. This is eagle at the same time Indra(?)—Vijrapāṇi, the Indra of the Tibetan Buddhist mythology has the wings of Garuḍa or its head (cfr. Gesser: Die Taten Bogda Gesser Khan's from the Mongolian translated by i. j. Schmidt. Berlin 1925, p. 6) above his own head (Grünwedel. cfr. n. 16, p. 162); and Odin too is called eagle—deaded (Mogk, cfr. n. 21, p. 560. Cfr. Grünwedel ib.: Indra is surrounded by Garuḍas (as Odin by ravens) Is Indra, the god of rain, connected with the stormbird? In this late Buddhist mythology there are some old remainders it is not only late tantrism.

connected with the fabulous tree Wispobish in the midst of the lake Wourukasha. This tree contains the seeds of all the plants (Encyclopaedia cfr. n. 22.) Was this tree the resting place of the bird or did the bird carry from the tree some plant similar to the maize and the soma? Did he bring it to heaven or to mankind? Did he correspond to version *a* or *b* of the RV?

(*b*) What was the original meaning of the Vedic version B? Was it only Indra who was in possession of the soma, and did the eagle steal the soma for the benefit of mankind? The soma enables men and gods to fight, it is similar to the drinks and drugs used by shamans in Central Asia. Or did the mankind need this drink for the purpose of offerings and for magic? (Charpentier 150). It is told in the later texts only, that the bird had to steal the soma for the snakes.

This second eagle is hostile against Indra he is quite different from the first eagle. As the first was perhaps Indra himself, so the second was perhaps Viṣṇu¹. Viṣṇu myths are mostly pre-aryan (Eisenschmiede, cfr. n. F, p. 282 sq.), but this pre-aryan Viṣṇu was already in the R̥gveda associated with Indra as a friend and f. i. the myth of Śambara was transferred from him

(1) This is Johannsons theory according to Charpentier 144, 153, 328, 330 sq., not accepted by Oldenberg 72, n. 4. Keith 61,—Th. Bloch (ZL MG, 62) believes that other Indian gods also were originally theriomorph: Śiva a bull etc. But the fish, tortoise etc. may as well have been intentional transformations of an anthropomorphic god.

to Indra already in the *Ṛgveda*¹. In a similar way both these eagles were already identified in the *Ṛgveda* and the deeds performed by the Viṣṇu—eagle were claimed by the Aryans to belong to the eagle of Indra. But the name of the pre-aryan god from whom the pre-aryan eagle (cfr.n.3) stole the plant is not known².

This eagle gives rain to mankind *ṚV* IV, 26, 2) as the primitive stormbird does. He drops only by courtesy one of his feathers when he is hit by Indra's Vajra, in the same way as the stormbird of Greek mythology (*ṚV* IV, 27, 4). He boasts that he has killed Śambara, the stag-demon (IV, 26, 6): is this a phrase of Indra who is the eagle (who also sends rain)? Or is this an old pre-aryan myth that the eagle (Viṣṇu) killed a stag? Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) killed the same stag-demon³, as well as Indra killed him (*Ṛgveda*) and a stag is killed by

1. Konow, *The Aryan gods and the Mitanni people*, 1921.—Indra and Viṣṇu became Ādityas, both fight against a snake (Vrtra, Kāliya) and the stag (Śambara). Both are heroes of the type called "son of the bear" by Panzer (*Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*, I, 1910, 239: Indra Panzer did not know Kṛṣṇa)

2. Even in the *Mbh* I, 29, 12 sq. (ed. Sukthankar) there is still a kind of opposition between Indra and Viṣṇu in this story: Viṣṇu is satisfied by Garuḍa's robbery! The given explanation is: because Garuḍa did not drink himself the soma. This is in contradiction to *Ṛgved* X, 119 (cfr. n. 22). Is it an old remainder that the Viṣṇu-eagle was not drunk as the Indra-eagle was?

3. *Brahmapurāṇa* 200, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V. 27^{*}; *Hari-varṇsa* II, 104-8; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* X, 55.—Śambara is a stag-demon: Przyluski in *Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny* I, 1937, 44 sqq.

an eagle according to Turkish mythology¹. Already in Babylonia there was the conception of the stormbird Indugud who carries a stag in both of his claws². In the Kögütey-epic (cfr. n. 82) Garuḍa carries 70 maral-stags in his one claw and 60 in the other one³. Is it therefore too daring to say that this eagle of the Ṛgveda has these last mentioned three features in common with the stormbird?

Is there still another remnant of the Viṣṇu-eagle of the second Ṛgvedic version? In the Kṛṣṇa-story, it⁴ is told that he, riding on Garuḍa, took the Parijāta-tree from Indra's heaven. He had to fight against Indra and the guardians of the tree. With his hand he caught easily the vajra thrown by Indra. But after a year he brought the tree back to heaven—as the eagle brought the soma back according to the *Suparṇādhyaḥ* XV, 29, 3 sqq. With this story we may compare the short allusion to the eagle in the Avesta and we must keep in mind that the soma also is a plant: in Ṛgveda IV, 26, 6 (Charpentier 149) it is said

1. In the famous tumulus in Noyin Ula such a design has been found and a similar one in a kurgan in Bazirik (Altai): A Inan, *Altay Bazirik Hafriyatında cıkarılan atların vaziyetini Türklerin defin merasimi bakımından izah*. II. *Türk tarih kongresi*, İstanbul 1937, 11—Even the Eskimos in Alaska have the same conception: K. Rasmussen, *Die Gabe des Adlers*, Frankfurt a. M., 1937, p. 136.

2. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I, s. v. Adler.

3. The nest of Indugud and his youngsters are on a high tree and there is a snake at its foot (OLZ) 1940, 182: S. N. Kramer, *Gilgamesch and the huluppu-tree*, Chicago 1938, quite similar to the bird in the epic of Kögütey.

4. *Brahmapurāṇa* 203, 28, sqq.; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V, 30, 31 sqq.; *Harivaṃśa* II, 64, 65, sqq.

that the eagle carried the "stalk". We may remember the story of the maize and the old Babylonian story of Estana: he wanted to get the 'plant of delivery' with the help of the eagle who carried him to heaven¹. A similar, but unknown story is represented on a golden vessel of Sassanidian times in the museum in Vienna: an eagle carries in his claws a human being (male? female?): in one of his hands this being keeps a bowl just in front of the head of the eagle (obviously feeding it, cfr. below type F from the Caucasus), and in the other hand he has something like a branch of the plant which is represented all around this group².

It is only in later literature, in the Mbh. and Suparṇādhyaṃya, that this deed of the eagle is ascribed to Garuḍa and is connected with another fairy-tale: the wager of Kadrū and Vinatā, the snake and the eagle. Only then all the well-known details were given as to how Garuḍa asked his parents for food and his mother offered him as food the people of the wild Niṣādas, and the father offered him the two great animals, the elephant and the tortoise; Garuḍa catches them and sits on the Rauhina-tree but its branch breaks down and Garuḍa carries the branch to a place where there are no human beings, and he swallows the

1. This bird is sometimes called Zu (Ugnad, cfr. n 11 p. 134). Etana could not reach heaven: he fell like Ikarus in Greek mythology, Sampāti in Indian. Ugnad 132 sqq.

2. Le Coq, Von Land and Leuten in Ostturkistan, 1928, Pl. 42, cfr. Pauli-Wissowa (cfr. n 19) VII, 748: the eagle and Ganymed on a Sassanidian cloth. Gfr. the dove of Noah.

two beasts on a great mountain. His nest is on a great Šalmali-tree (Charpentier 275; cfr. below N. 59).

TYPE E: THE BAD BIRD OF PREY.

The above-mentioned Zu is a stormbird and a bird of prey. In the Shahname the hero Isfandiār fights against such a bird which is called Sımurgh¹. this one is like a black cloud and carries away the elephants. Heracles fought against the Stymphalean birds and the child Kṛṣṇa against the crane Baka². The child Hagen is carried off by a griffin to its nest but the heroic child escapes, kills the old griffin and its youngster and returns safely: such a motive looks like an import from the east in the nordic epic of Gudrun³. North American fairy tales tell us how the two brothers killed the thunderbirds (cfr. n. 12, p. 150) and how the other birds deprived them of their feathers (132). The thunderbird had carried off the child of the raven, then the raven prepared an enormous whale which the thunderbird and its three children could almost lift from the sea, but the whale was made sticky by the means of resin and the thunderbirds were caught⁴.

The primitive Asurs in Chota-Nagpur told me: Asur, the ancestor-hero killed the vulture which had

1. Encyclopaedia (cfr. n. 22); Nöldeke. *Das iranische Heldenepos* 176: to be distinguished from the helpful Sımurgh (cfr. below type G).

2. Bhāgavatapurāṇa X, 11, 41 sqq.

3. Cfr. Aarne—Thompson, *The types of folk-tale*, Helsinki 1928, Nr. 705.

4. 212 sq.: cfr. the design on p. 136 and 144 of Rasmussen (cfr. n. 27).

carried off all the children of the tribe. The tree of the gigantic bird and the nest which was made of ploughs, became great rocks which can still be seen (Eisenschmiede, cfr. n. f., p. 102). The male vulture in the language of the Asurs and their neighbours is called Rāvan (Eisenschmiede 78, 295) and he is a totemistic bird of these tribes (ib. 295). He became the central point of the great epic Rāmāyaṇa: the rākṣasa Rāvaṇa carried off Sītā, the wife of Rāma. Viṣṇu's incarnation Kṛṣṇa is helped by one great bird, but his other incarnation Rāma is hostile to this other demon who has lost in this epic all its character of a bird. But his town of Lañkā is typical for this type of bad birds (cfr. below Type F). In Sumatra there is a story of a bird on a fabulous tree which carried off human beings (Anthropos IV, 989 sq.). In Ceram, an island of the Molucs, the primitives tell of how a cacadu carried off a human wife; she was brought home (like Sītā) but she got a son from the bird¹. The cacadu is the ancestor of some families in other fairy tales of Ceram (308). In this regard he is similar to rāvan in Chota-Nagpur.

Similar to this bird of prey (but not historically connected with it) is the eagle of Zeus which carried off Ganymed. This eagle is not mentioned in the old records of this story, its earliest representation is in the 4th century B C. (Pauli-Wissowa, cfr. n. 19, VII, 738, 743). In an Italian fairy tale a fairy transforms herself into an eagle and carries off a beloved youth (Bolte-Polivka

1. A. E. Jensen, Hainuwele, Frankfurt a. M. 1939, 309.

Anmerkungen zu den Kinder-und Hausmärchen der Gebrüder Grimm, II, 322). An imitation of the eagle and Ganymed in the famous statue of Leochares has been discovered among the sculptures of Gandhara ; this Indian eagle carries a female snake-goddess ¹ but a corresponding story has not yet been found. Some scholars believe that even in Buddhist Turkistan some copies of this statue of Leochares can be recognised ². In Bāzāklik in a temple of the 9th century A. D. of Turkish workmanship, a great picture has been found which represents the recovering of a child carried off by Garuḍas ; it is the picture of a hunt : with dogs, falcons, arrows, bows, clubs and lassos. The fleeing Garuḍas are chased, the child is already recovered ³ one bird is caught by a lasso, another one flees. There is no similarity between this picture and the statue of Leochares. But archaeologists believe that the oldest representation of the eagle and Ganymedes was a Greek picture (Pauli-Wissowa VII, 743). No copy of this picture exists but Vergil in his Aeneis V, 252 sq. describes a picture on a valuable cloth: there was a hunting of stags and the eagle carrying off Ganymedes; some servants raised their hands after the flying bird and dogs were barking around. Is it likely that there is some remainder of the oldest Greek picture in this Vergilian description and (respectively: or)

1. Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore, London 1916, 172; Grnūwedel (cfr. n. 16) 26 sb.; Le Coq (cfr. n. 32) 164.

2. Le Coq, Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan, Leipzig 1926, p. 76, 130.

3. Waldschmidt, Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan, Leipzig 1925, 9 ; fig. 17.

in the temple of Bāzāklik? A corresponding hunting-story has not yet been found in Indian literature and it seems that this subject of Bāzāklik was taken from an older Turkish story similar to that of the Asurs. It is known that the motive of the bird of prey carrying a human being is represented on Chinese vases earlier than Leochares¹ and in the Tibetan-Mongolian story of Gesser Khan (cfr. n. 22, p. 75 sq.) it is told that during a great hunt the hero chased and killed Garuḍa in order to get the feathers of his tail; no Hindu would dare to tell such an impious story!

Garuḍa does not carry away mankind but snakes² f. i. he carries away the young snake Cikura from the netherworld (Mbh V. 204, 15 sq.). Or: every day at the entrance into the under-world he gets as an offering a young snake. Once upon a time Jīmūtavāhana, an heroic ghost, saw what was happening and offered himself instead of the snake. Garuḍa carried him to the top of a mountain, but when he started eating him, the snake which should have been offered to Garuḍa on the same day, appeared also and wished to be eaten. Deeply touched by the generosity of both Garuḍa went for amṛta (nectar) and restored to life all the killed snakes³ a story told in Brahmin books, but its moral is Buddhist.

TYPE F: THE BAD BIRD OF THE SEA

Similar to the North-American stormbird which can carry a whale (Type B) is the Buddhist

1. Hentze, *Frühchinesische Bronzen und Kulldars-tellungen*, Antwerpen 1937, 57 sqq.

2. Mbh. III, 160, 15 sqq, Jātaka 154 etc.

3. Charpentier 335: Kathās XXII and Naganandā.

Suparṇarāja which catches the gigantic snake of the sea (Jātaka 412; Charpentier 341). He sometimes assumed human shape, became the friend of a king of Benares, deprived him of his wife, took his original shape of a bird, brought her to his abode beyond the sea (1) and lived with her¹. The king sent a musician in search of his wife (cfr. below) and it is a typical Buddhist feature that she fell in love with this musician, and the bird, on account of her infidelity, brought her back to the king. In the Kṛṣṇa-story there is the episode of the snake Kāliya which fled from the ocean where it was threatened by Garuḍa. And it is similar to the Buddhist animosity against the bad bird, that on that occasion Kṛṣṇa instead of helping his friendly servant Garuḍa against the snake, helps the snake against Garuḍa by stamping the snake with his divine footmark on the neck in order that Garuḍa should not kill Kāliya in the future². In a Buddhist-Tibetan story a king is saved by the bird from the sea³. Lohajaṅgha, a poor Brahmin, chased away by his beloved one finally gets shelter in the corpse of an elephant. That was washed into the sea by the inundation of a river; there Garuḍa caught it and carried it to the other side of the ocean. There was Laṅkā, the abode of the

1. Two parallel tales: Jātaka 327 and 360: Charpentier 341, 350.

2. Brahmapur 185; Viṣṇupur. V, 7; Harivaṃśa II, 11 sq.; Bhāgav. pur. X, 15, 47 sqq.; Padmapur. Utt. 272, 128 sqq.; Brahmavaivarttapur. IV, 19, 1—68; cfr. the authors article in the volume on Eastern studies in honour of F. W. Thomas, Poona 1939, 188—203.

3. Jungbaur, Marchen aus Turkestan and Tibet, Jena 1933, 218; Bolte-Polivka III, 412.

rākṣasas under Vibhīṣaṇa, the successor of Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa told Lohajaṅgha that the foundation of Lankā is wooden: Once Garuḍa broke off a branch of the tree of all wishes (cfr. above the Rauhiṇa tree) and put it into the sea; on it Laṅkā was built. Then Vibhīṣaṇa ordered a great bird to carry Lohajaṅgha back to Mathurā (cfr. Type G). At night he paid a visit on the same bird to his bride and then she believed that he was the god Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa (Kathās. XII; Charpentier 342). This Brahmanical story looks also Buddhistic or at least anti-Viṣṇuitic. In a Micronesian tale ¹ the hero builds a gigantic bird of wood and feathers, and his mother gives it life by spells; within that bird the hero flies to an island and regains his wife robbed by the king of that island; later on this bird became the island of Ngardmau (cfr. Laṅkā) To get his beloved princess an audacious weaver dressed as Viṣṇu flew on a wooden Garuḍa. And the divine Garuḍa entered the wooden bird in order not to disillusionate the mind of the pious mankind: a late and perhaps Buddhistic joke (Pañcatantra I,5).

The great bird the abode of which is an island or a mountain at the other side of the ocean and which carries men to and fro is well-known as the so-called Rokh of the 2nd and 5th adventures of Sindbad told in thousand-and-one nights.

The just mentioned corpse of an elephant reminds one of the trick to catch the condor in South America (cfr. Type D). In Sindbad's 2nd

1. P. Hambruch, *Südseemärchen*, Jena 1921, No. 39° cfr. No. 49. From Palamau.

adventure there is the episode of the valley of the diamonds no human being can ¹. escape from that valley which is full of diamonds. Therefore merchants throw flesh into the valley, diamonds adhere to the flesh, eagles carry the flesh out of the valley and are killed by the merchants who thus get the diamonds. Sindbad covers himself with this flesh and eagles save him from the valley.—Benjamin from Tudela relates a similar trick of the merchants east of Ceylon: when shipwrecked, they cover themselves with the hides of buffaloes and are saved by great eagles which are called griffins (Charpentier 360).—In the famous Jaina-story Malayasundarikathā, the pious girl is driven to the seashore of the barbarians; they beat her in order to dye their clothes with her blood; a Bharuṇḍa-bird believes that she is a piece of flesh and carries her off; another bird attacks the first one (as Jatāyus Rāvaṇa) and the girl falls into the ocean; a fish saves her.—A pregnant queen desired to bathe in a tank of blood; when she was all coloured red, a Garuḍa carried her off to the mountain at the other side of the ocean where the sun rises ².—Similar was one adventure of the Babylonian eagle of Etana: he had eaten the youngsters of the snake; the snake prayed to the sun-god and the sun advised it to do a trick: the snake hid itself in the corpse of a wild ox, the eagle approached the corpse and the snake

1. Laufer, The diamond. Field museum of natural history 184 Chicago 1915, 5 sqq.; cfr. Charpentier 361, n. 1.

2. Kathās. IX, 46 sqq.; Charpentier 342; cfr. below the cosmographical notes: the east.

broke its wings and throw the wounded eagle into a pit.—Konon¹ told a similar story: a herdsman, by the treachery of his companions, fell into a deep cave; Apollon advised him to scratch himself till he bleeds; by this trick a vulture was attracted which carried him out of the cave.

In the above mentioned Jātaka 360 the musician sent by the king to recover the queen, was in the shipwreck, got a swimming beam and reached the island of the great bird the nest of which was on a great tree (Charpentier 351,355 h.). In the similar Jātaka 327 the musician already in Benares hid himself in the feathers of the gigantic bird and thus the bird without knowing it carried him to his nest; a seavoyage and the shipwreck is not mentioned. Very similar is the adventure of Sindbad: he is left alone by his comrades on an isle (corresponding to the shipwreck), and there he binds himself to the leg of the Rokh which without knowing it, carries him to his abode; there happens the episode of the diamond-valley; Rokh catches a great snake of the sea (cfr. above Jātaka 412), and for his youngsters he catches an elephant which has been caught by the horn of a rhinoceros².

There is the following Malayan tale³. a shipwrecked hero swims with a wooden beam which

1. In the Bibliotheca of Photios, ed. Bekker I, 137: Paulli-Wissowa II, 316 —Panzer (cfr n. 24) 230: the story of Konon belongs to Type H, only this one trick can be compared with Type F; this trick does not occur in Type H. Even this text of the 1st Century B. C. contains a mixture of two types as the R̥gveda, Etana etc.

2. Cfr. above Mbh I Charpentier 367, 234, 362 sq., 364, 365 n.

3. Hambruch, Malaische Märchen, Jena 1922, Nr. 27; its title: "The Garuḍa bird", if it is genuine, proves only that this name is borrowed from India, not the story.

is caught by an enormous whirl of the sea near the shore of an island; he escapes at the last moment with the help of the root of a great tree on the shore. On the tree a great bird sits on his eggs; the male bird wants to eat the hero ¹ but finally he agrees that the female bird whose feathers will be grown again after seven days ² should carry the hero back to his country; there, in the meanwhile, the wicked male bird had eaten all the human beings (cfr. Type E).—And there is a Polynesian tale ³. The ship of a hero is lost in a similar whirl; he escapes with the help of a bush on the seashore; he walks quite alone through the island till a godling helps him by ordering him to fasten himself to the leg of a great bird which carries him home. Such a whirl is mentioned in similar Indian tales ⁴ but also among the adventures of Ulysses and in the mythology of some Siberians ⁵. The sailors of the Indian ocean, the Mediterranean sea and the Arctic Ocean have the same conception of such a whirl.

Ceylon whose foundation is the branch broken by Garuḍa, is abode of Rāvaṇa and of the double-headed rhinocerus-bird (Charpentier 358 n.). It is the abode of Rokh according to Rachid Eddin (Charpentier 351 n.). We have mentioned the birds of Ceram and Sumatra is the nest of Simurgh, says Hamdallah Mustawfi (Enc. of Islam).

1. The famous subject of the man-eater, cfr. Type H.

2. Cfr. the similar subject of the eagle of Etana.

3. From Fidji: Hambruch (cfr n. 47) No. 32.

4. Devendragaṇi (Herrmann Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī*, 28 sqq.) and Kathās. XXVI, 1 sqq. (Charpentier 353 sqq.)

5. Cfr. the forthcoming article of the author in the *Acta Orientalia* on Shamanism in the oldest India.

Pigafetta told that Garuḍa sits on a great tree east of Borneo (Charpentier 359): he carries off even the elephants; once a shipwrecked boy kept himself hiding in his feathers till the bird approached a corpse of a buffalo on the mainland and the boy escaped. A similar bird is mentioned by Ibn Batuta near Sumatra (Charpentier 361). In the Rāmāyaṇa it is told that far in the east beyond Yava (IV,40,30) and other islands and peoples, who cover themselves with their ears¹ and those who have only one leg etc., typical conceptions of far travelling sailors, there is the red ocean, the gigantic Śālmali-tree² and the palace of Vainateya-Garuḍa. This is the old cosmography of the epics³ but in the later cosmography of the Purāṇas there are three abodes of the bird: (1) in Śālmali-dvīpa, that is in the other continent beyond the ocean⁴ (2) on the Vaikāṇka, a mountain in the east of our continent (ib. p. 102), (3) in Hiraṇmaya in the far north of our continent beyond the Meru (p. 108; cfr. Type C and H). The third place is not mentioned in most of the older Purāṇas⁵; such later additions are presumably due to Jaina influence (Hilgenberg p. XLIV). The Jains indeed believe that the abode of the Supaṇṇakumāras is on the Manusuttara-mountain in the north beyond the

1. Cfr. the Malayan tale (cfr. n. 52) p. 102.

2. Kūṭaśālmali; cfr. koṭisimbali in Jāt. 412 (Charp. 341); cfr. below n. 93 and the Suparṇ. in type D.

3. Cfr. the authors Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyaṇa, Stuttgart 1936, 93.

4. W. Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn 1920, p. 115.

5. Hilgenberg, Die kosmographische Episode in Mbh, Stuttgart 1934, 14 and XXXI sq.

ocean or beyond the Mandara-mountain which corresponds to the Meru of the Brahmanical cosmography.

Summing up the Indian, Malayan and Polynesian tales, the Indian cosmography and the old reports of Arabian and European travellers, it becomes quite clear that the abode of the bird of this type is Ceylon or any other island east of it. This type of bird is a typical conception of the sailors of the Indian ocean. Some travellers pretend that this bird belongs to Madagascar, as f. i. Marco Polo (Charpentier 362); well, the fairy tales of Madagascar are very closely connected with the Malayan ones; the same sailors reached Madagascar also with the help of the same passat- and monsoon-winds. The Indian testimonies of this bird are the oldest ones¹. but it is not sure that this type of bird was an original conception of the Hindus or of the mainland of India. It is a variant of the widespread type E, an adaptatoin of it to the oversea trade, older than the Arabian one and even the Greek-Roman one, perhaps as old as the trade by the outrigger boats which connected South India and the east in prehistoric time².

TYPE G: THE EPICAL SERVANT BIRD.

In the Shahname this type of bird is mixed up with type E: Sām abandoned his newborn child

1. Charpentier 353 sqq., 356, 364: very common at about 1000 A.D. But the jāt. belong perhaps to the 2nd C.B.C. —In the XIIIthc. the topic of hiding himself in a corpse in order to be caught by a griffin is found in Germany (Bolte Polivka IV, 171), cfr. Herzog Trust.

2. Hornell, The origin and ethnological significance of Indian boat designs, Calc. 1920, 139 sqq.—The same type of bird in China? Charpentier 365 n. Twaney I, 104.

Zal because he had white hairs¹. The bird Simurgh found the child and carried it off to its nest on the Alburs-mountain (cfr. type E: Hagen), and there he kindly brought it up,² taught it well and brought it back to its father giving it its name and some feathers in order that it might call him if necessary.—When Rustem, the son of Zal, was born, Simurgh was called by means of these feathers and asked to open the right side of the mother so that the child might come out³. He brought some drug (cfr. type D) to cure the wound.—When later on Rustem fought against Isfandiyar, Simurgh pulled out of his body the arrows of Isfandiyar and cured the wound with his feathers. He had warned Rustem not to kill Isfandiyar, but when Rustem insisted he had brought him in one single night to the place near the lake in China where there was the tree (cfr. the Avesta!) out of the wood of which the arrow was to be made which alone could kill Isfandiyar⁴.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, pierced by the arrows of Indrajit fainted away. Their friends stood around helpless. Suddenly with a blazing storm cfr type B) Garuḍa approached and cured the heroes. The arrows were magic snakearrows, and the snakes fled from Garuḍa. The bird then

1. The well-known topic of the "golden child".

2. The topic of the "nursing animal": Kyros and the dog, Ardahir and the she-goat etc. Panzer II, 1912, 40, Nöldeke 132 sq. H. Schneider, Wolfdietrich, München 1913, 296, f.; Zeus and the eagle: Pauli—Wissowa I, 374 sq.

3. Cfr. the birth of Indra (RV IV, 18,2) and Buddha.

4. Topic of Baldur.— Rückerts translation 1890/5, I 136. Encyclopaedia. Nöldeke 176. Cfr. Type E: a bad Simurgh.

touched the faces of the brothers with his feathers and the wounds were closed ¹.

In the Caucasus there is the following story: Rustamsal, son of Qahirman, was far from his home fighting. His father was in search of him and asked the bird Sūmrūd (=emerald) to carry him to a remote mountain where his son was. In that case Qahirman sat on the wing of the bird, and he had to take along much water to feed the bird on the long trip ². There is a Turkish tale of a hero who was carried by similar gigantic birds on a several day trip to the country of the fairies ³. In Ceram was a bird named Supuna which caused a man sitting on a big tree from which he could not climb down, to be carried home by several birds (cfr. n. 37: p. 123). Another man searched his wife and a bird carried him on its shoulder into the country below the water; the wife had been a fish-wife (p. 285). On the other hand: a human wife had been carried off by a fish-man, and a bird brought her back into her village (p. 287 sq.). These birds of Ceram are helpers (type G) but at the same time they are similar to the bird of the sea (type F); they look like primitive and minor variants of that bigger one (type F), they are

1. R VI, 50, 34 sqq.—There is a paralld passage in R VI, 101: Hanuman brings drugs from a distant mountain and cures the same heroes. Did Garuḍa originally the same (cf. Type D)? According to Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa* 46 sq. VI 101 a repetition of VI. 50. In the Malayan Rama-story Indra-jit showers a rain of stones on the two hero-brothers and Garuḍa helps covering them with his enormous wings (Stutterheim (cfr. n. 9. P. 58).

2. A. Durr, *Kaukasische Karchen*, Jena 1927, 225; cfr. the bird on the Sasanidian golden vase (type D.)

3. F. Giese, *Türkische Marchen*, Jena 1925, p. 136.

conceptions of small river-fishermen in contrast to the conception of the sailors of the Indian ocean. The name Supuna is of course a deterioration of Suparṇa.

Gālava, a Brahmin youth, had to bring to his teacher a rare gift nearly impossible to be found. Garuḍa comes and offers his help to carry him to all the four directions of the world in order to get it (Mbh. V, 107, 16 sqq.; Charpentier 334).—Garuḍa, the bird of this helping type, is the vehicle of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, but not of Rāma (cfr. type E); he does not help Rāma when he searches Sita or has to cross the ocean to reach Laikā. When Kṛṣṇa is in great calamities he thinks of Garuḍa and immediately the bird comes and searches for the place of Dvāravatī¹. When Kṛṣṇa wants to fight against Naraka he thinks of Garuḍa and immediately the bird comes and carries him to his town².

In Yazilikaya there is a relief of Hittite workmanship representing a double headed eagle³ above the heads of which there stand two goddesses; does

1. Harivamsa II, 55. In an epic of the Altai-Turcs "Kan Kere" (=Garuḍa) is asked by the hero to search for his sister, but he refuses to do so (Radloff' Proben II, 505). This reminds one of the similar story in the Ramayana of the Birhors (S. C. Roy, The Birhors p. 416) and is contrary to that of the Malayans (Stutterheim p. 48 and 257). An other Turkish hero slays the same bird without any discussion (Radloff 547) a third asks him for his stolen foal, also invain (ib. 100).

2. Harivamsa II, 63, 39; Brahmap. 202, 14; Vimsup. V, 19. 14.

3. Cfr. above type B: Koch-Grunberg (cfr. n. 17) p. 130.—Bharunda Charpentier 357. The rhinoceros-bird: Charpentier 358 n. The eagle in Kyzil: Le Coq (cfr. n. 32) pl. 14. The eagle of the former Austrian monarchy.

this mean that they ride on that bird? Pseudo-kallisthenes II, 39-42 told that Alexander the Great rode on two eagles to reach heaven (Charpentier 364 n.): he put a yoke over their necks and stood himself in the midst of the yoke; he directed them by the means of a piece of lever which he held in front of them, an other Nimrod. And in the Shahname, that is in later Persian tradition. Kei Kaus tied four eagles to the four corners of his throne, showed them a piece of raw meat and thus induced them to lift the throne; finally he landed in China¹. A Malayan tale has preserved the similar subject of how a hero brought up two eagles and was finally saved from prison by these birds which carried him away in a basket². It is not surprising to find such a western subject in a Malayan tale: Chinese, Indian, Persian and Arabian topics are mixed up in these tales.

In the opening of the Tibetan Kesar-saga it is told that the people had no king, went to the top of a high mountain and worshipped the sungod; he came in the shape of a vulture, was caught by the men and was forced to send his own son as a king³. This Tibetan version is much more primitive than the Mongolian one of how a son of Ormuzd (=Indra) became a man on account of an order of Buddha. This Tibetan bird and sungod stands close to the Viṣṇu-sunbird (type A and D) and the Indo-Iranian servant bird of the kings (type G).

1. Panzer 239.—Noldeke 131: Kei Kaus Kavi Usanas; in R V, IV, 26, the eagle is Usanas.

2. Hambruch (cfr. n. 52) Nr. 28.

3. Sir Charles Bell, The religion of Tibet, Oxford 1931. 12 sq.

In Persia there was also the other tradition that the shade of an eagle fell on Ardashir. Such a bird in Persian tales is called Humai (Nöldeke 133) and in today's Turkish tales "states-bird"¹. With this conception the legend is connected (Nöldeke *ib.*) of how the ancestor of the Achaemenides was brought up by an eagle² like Zal by Simurgh and Gilgamesh also by an eagle (Aelian *ib.*). From that time the eagle remained the symbol of the Achaemenides. From them the Ptolemaeans took this symbol, and from them the Roman emperors since Octavian: in his apotheosis the Roman emperor flies to heaven on an eagle³. It is true that the eagle as vehicle is an oriental conception⁴, but where in the east is its root? In India it is not older than the Mbh. and therefore probably not much older than the romance of Alexander, the Great, and certainly later than the relief of Yazilikaya. Its prototype may have been the bird (goose or eagle) on which the shamans of Central Asia ride (*cfr.* type A and H). With this shamanism a kind of totemism is connected, and indeed the eagle is the totem not only of some Turkish tribes but also *f. i.* of the Arpads, the king of the Magyars: the mother of Arpad saw in a dream how she was impregnated by an eagle. The first shaman also was the son of a human wife and an eagle; if a shaman anywhere sees a corpse of an eagle he is obliged to bury it (Harva. *cfr.* n. 10, p. 465 sq.). Totemistic may be also the conception

1. Jungbaur (*cfr.* n. 46) p. 72.
2. Paulli-Wissowa I, 374: Aelian XII, 21.
3. Paulli-Wissowa *ib.* Artemidor II, 20.
4. Panzer according to Bolte-Polivka II, 317.

of the birds which protected Ardashir, Achaemenes Gilgamesh and Zal; and totemistic was perhaps the bird, the son of the sun, the first king of the Tibetans.

In India as in Persia there is (besides the aryan eagle) the couple: a good and a bird bad. Does it belong to one and the same cultural stratum which in per-aryan times spread over India and Iran? Or to the two different cultural strata which were mixed in the same fashion in both of these countries? One feels tempted to recognise the helping bird already in the topic of Etana's eagle: Etana like Alexander, Kei Kaus and Qahirman is carried by this servant eagle, and its service is fruitless like that of Alexander and Kei Kaus (topic of Icarus cfr. above). A late northern remainder of this type of an eagle of the kings may be the Garuḍa used as a monument of victory in Mongolia Grünwedel, cfr. n. 16, p. 192 sq.)

'TYPE H: THE BIRD OF THE NETHER WORLD.

The helping bird which carries heroes (type G) was specified and put into a great framework of a certain tale spread over the continental region of Europe and Asia¹. A hero goes to recover three stolen princesses; he causes his faithless companions to let him down into a deep well. In the nether-world he finds and frees the girls and his companions carry them back to the surface of this world in a basket. But the hero is left in the nether world. There he has several adventures till he reaches a

1. Panzer I; Bolte Polivka II, 257 sqq.; Aarne-Thompson (cfr. n. 35) Nr. 301 IV-V. Some more literature: Jungbaur (cfr. n. 46) p. 308. Among the hundreds of variants of this folktale only the following were at my disposal.

tree¹. on the top of which is the nest and some youngsters of an eagle². A snake climbs the tree to eat the young birds but the hero kills the snake³. and (or) protects the young birds against a storm (f, g, i; Panzer 188 sq.). The

(a) Altaiski Epos. Koguti (*i. e.* Kogutey). Redact Sokolov. Ed. Verlag Academia. Leningrad 1935 (translated for me by my friend and college (*sic*) Abdulkadir Inan).

(b) Radloff, Proben der turkischen Volksliteratur III, 315 sqq, Kirgis.

(c) *ib.* V. 583 sqq. Karakirgis.

(d) Turkish (cfr. n. 71) p. 75 sqq.

(e) Lowis of Menar, Finnische and esthnische Volksmarchen, Jena 1922, 40 sqq.

(f) *ib.* 81 sqq.

(g) *ib.* 96 sq.

(h) Thousand and one Night XX, 136 sqq. (of the German translation of Henning).

(i) M. Bochen and F. Sperht, Lettisch-Litauische Marchen, Jena 1924, p. 233 sqq.

(k) Caucasus (cfr. n. 70) p. 35 sqq.

(l) *ib.* 71 sqq.

(m) *ib.* 210 sqq.

(n) Karjalainen, Die Religion der Jugra-völker, FFC, Helsinki 1921/2, 332 sqq.

(o) Letvia, cfr. above under i. p. 13 sqq.

(p) Balcan: A. Leskien, Balkadimarchen Jena, 1915, p. 73 sqq.

(q) *ib.* 272 sqq.

(r) E. Tegethof, Französische Volksmarchen, Jena 1923, II, 273 ff.

(s) Turkistan, cfr. n. 46, p. 308 sqq.

(t) Turcs, cfr. n. 71, p. 144.

1. Elm-tree in the midst of the earth; c. Cypress: d. Asp. b. Forest near a swamp. e. On the shore of the blue sea: a. Plane tree near a fountain: s. Beech: p. Heaven-reaching tree: 1. A rock: h; k, m. r don't mention the tree.

2. Karakush: b. Griffin: i, o. Vulture: k. Eagle: f, g, r; as great as an ox; 1. Rokh: h great falcon: q. Simurgh: S. Sümürdanka: d. Gigantic bird: p,—cfr. Panzer 186 sq., 224.

3. Or: a dragon comes out of the sea: a (cfr. the picture on pl. 22 of Le Coq, Die buddhistische Spätantike III, Berlin 1924). An eagle eats the young vultures: k. A three-headed dragon: 1.—Panzer 188 sq. The snake is entirely missing in r, g, i, r.

thankful young birds hide the hero when their mother approaches with a blazing storm¹. She wants to kill the hero (Panzer 189), but the youngsters implore her to save him². The hero then asks the bird to carry him to the upper world³ and the bird asks him to procure for himself much food for the long trip⁴. The hero sits on the bird⁵. Shortly before they reach the upperworld all the food is eaten up but the bird needs some more and the hero secretly cuts off a part of his own leg to feed the bird⁶. The thankful bird restores the hero to health and gives him some feathers to call himself if necessary. The hero reaches home and his companions are ashamed.

In the version of the Altai-turcs (*a*) the name of the bird is Kan Kerede=Sir Garuḍa. But this

1. Cfr. type B. The tears of the mother of the birds are the rain : *a*, *c*.

2. Or : the mother protects the sleeping hero against a storm : *d*, *k*, *m*, *s*.—Panzer 189.

3. Or : the bird gives the hero a dagger as a symbol of life (Bolt-Polivka II, 318), the hero later on is killed by his companions and the bird restores him to life by the water of life : *a* (the carrying of the bird is missing in *a*).—the same topic occurs in *e* (p. 48) and *q* (p. 276 sq.) besides the carrying bird ; cfr. Bolte-Polivka II, 309 and 310. Panzer 128 sq., 192.

4. 40 horses and water : *s*. 40 he=goats and water : *c*. 40 sheep and wine : *d* 12 oxen i etc.—Panzer 189. This topic is missing only in *e*, *f*, *l*.

5. Riding on its neck : *c*. Sitting in the midst : *d*. On its back : *b*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *l*, *m*, *o*, *p*. Riding : *r*.

6. Panzer 191. This offering of his own meat should not be identified with the self offering of Jīmūtvāhana (cfr. Type E.). It is nothing but an exaggeration of the feeding of the eagle by Alexander the Great and Kei Kaus. In *q* the feeding happens before the flight just as it is in the story of Etana. In *e* the bird asks for the meat of the hero only.

tale as a whole is not known throughout India¹, only the conception of the abode (or of one abode) of Garuḍa in the netherworld exists there. The Jains believe that the Suvāṇṇakumāras have their domicile below². In the netherworld is the country of the six sons of Garuḍa and their descendants (Mbh. V. 101). There Amṣumān, the nephew of the Sagarides, meets Suparṇa, the king of the birds, who advises him to lead the Gaṅgā from heaven to expiate the ashes of his ancestors (Rāmāyaṇa I 41. 16 sqq.). King Vasu Uparicara it is told in the Mbh XII, 336 sq., was able to walk through the air. Thus he reached heaven. But he was cursed by the divine saints, fell down and had to stay below the earth, in a hole in the earth till Viṣṇu sent Garuḍa to this pious king. Garuḍa penetrated into the hole and carried the king to heaven.—This story reminds one of Etana who entered the hole in which the wounded eagle was; he restored him to health and was carried by him to heaven. But it cannot be proved that this Eurasian tale existed already at the time of the Etana-story or is to be derived from the story of King Vasu³.

1. Panzer mentions Kathās. III, 18 and VII, 39, but these tales don't contain the episode of the bird; he further on refers to some modern Indian tales of this type (Nrs. 188—191 of his list) but these also seem to omit the bird.—Bolte-Polivka quote only one modern Bengali tale which can be due to Islamic import.—Cfr. Mbh. I 3, 138-162 (ed. Sukthanker). Uttanka returns from the netherworld on a miraculous horse which according to the parallel passage in XIV, 58 is Agni.

93 W. Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas 1935, § 110. But Garuḍa's abode is in the north of Mandara (=Meru): § 113; cfr. above n. 59! on the Kūḍaśālmali.

94. Cfr. n. 50!—Panzer 237 sqq refers to the Avesta which is not quite convincing.

One might suggest that the origin of this folk-tale¹ and of this type of bird was the shamanism of Central Asia. When the shaman in his trance sends his soul to the nether world and wants it to come back he needs the help of a bird, mostly a goose or an eagle²; and some shamans are dressed up as birds (Harva 503 sq.) This bird=mask should be compared with the story of how Gesser Khan take the shape of Garuḍa when he flew from heaven to hell in search of the soul of his mother (cfr. n. 22, p. 276) A remainder of shamanistic rites can perhaps be found in the mysteries of Mithraism in Iran: the mystai gathered in caves, and one of the several titles of their graduates was *kryphios*=griffin. It is known that travels to the nether-world occurred in their mysteria (cfr. n. 57). In later Iranian mysticism Attar XIIth c. A. D.) describes the travel of the sufi up to the highest goddess as a travel of the birds up to the mountain Kaf beyond the seven valleys; there they get the highest wisdom from the wise Simurgh³.

The greatest number of the variants of the Eurasian tale does not contain the episode of the bird; without the bird (cfr. n. 92) the fairy tale is spread even as far as China⁴ which means that this type of bird has been coupled later with this

1. According to Meuli, *Scythica* in *Hermes* LXX. Berlin 1935, 166.

2. Harva (cfr. n. 10), p. 84, 205 sq., 547. Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus*, Lund-Kopenhagen 1939, 127.

3. Ethé, *Neuparisische Literature, Grundriss* II, 285. Cfr. the beginning of the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*: the four wise birds in the Vindhya teaching Jaimini.

4. Eberhard, *Typen chinesischer Volksarchen* FFC 120, 1937 Nr. 122.

tale that existed independently before¹ This bird is a brother of type G (the epical servant bird) and is perhaps of the same age; and at the same time he corresponds and is opposed to the bad bird of the sea (type F). He belongs to the story-tellers of the caravans of the continental Eurasia, as type F belongs to the sailors of the Indian ocean. On the eastern border of the region of Asiatic shamanism, in Alaska, the Eskimoes celebrate a potlatch-festival the god of which is the eagle²: a stuffed eagle on a wooden pole (cfr type A!) is worshipped because he is the originator of this festival. Once he carried off three brothers, killed two of them and only the youngest brought home the knowledge of the festival, its dancings, songs, drum-beating and exchange of gifts. The eagle guided him to a distant mountain where the mother of the eagle lived, and he brought him home on his back. This bird is therefore similar to the sunbird (type A); to the bird bringing some Important good (*viz.* the festival: type D) and to the helping bird of type G—H. And this tradition of the Eskimos shows that these different types of birds belong to the same shamanistic culture.

CONCLUSION.

Besides these 8 types of birds there are yet others, omen birds, etc. But even these 8 types

1. Panzer 186 believes that the bird belongs to the original tale and is lost in most of its variants. He has no proofs. On the contrary: he pretends that the tale as a whole is an Aryan *viz.* Indo-Aryan one (245: Indra-Verethraghna); the bird on the other hand is of Babylonian origin (239 n) and does not occur in the Indo Iranian tale but is a non-aryan element of the tale (245), according to him.

2. Rasmussen (cfr. n. 27) p.23 sqq.

show that it is implausible that "Garuda" is developed only from one Indian source. The name of Garuda is used for several different birds not only in India but also in the wide area of Indian influence in Central East and South Asia¹. In the same way the name Simurgh is used in the near east alternating sometimes with Sümürd-Anka². The same is true of the Phenix and the griffin as used among the Europeans. The same names are not always connected with the same types of birds.

The first four types are mythological birds, the second four belong to fairy tales. The first group looks older than the second, but it is difficult to judge about the possibility of interrelationship between the two groups. We can go only so far as to say that the bird of prey (type E) is a forerunner of the bad bird of the sea (type F), and on the other hand: the epical servant bird (type G) is a forerunner of the bird of the nether-world

1. Uigurian: Karuti (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II, Abh. d. PAW 1910, 1911, 678).—Kogutey (cfr. n. 82a): Kan Kerede. Radloff II, p. XI sq: Kerede or Kan Kerekush.—Mongolian: Garuda (Gesser, cfr. n. 27, p. 6, 55, 75 sq.) or Chan Garudi (Charpentier 337: he asked for the best meat; the birds believed human meat to be the best, but Buddha persuaded them to recommend the meat of the snakes; thus Buddha saved the mankind from the bad bird)—Malayan: gerda (cfr. type B).—Siamese: Khruth (Charpentier 310).—Lao (further India): Khut (ib. 309: name of the eagle which was stupified in a race by the tortoise)—Cfr. Supuna in Ceram (type G).

2. Simurgh is called Anka by Thalibi (*Encyclopaedia*). Masudi: Anka=griffin (Charpentier 363). Sümürd-Anka in the variant n. 82d above—It is strange that the emerald in India is called Garudāṅkita="signed by Garuda" which sounds similar to Anka=emerald. I don't know why this stone has this name in India.

(type H). Perhaps the Viṣṇu-bird, that is the variant of the sunbird, and the bird bringing some good (type A and D) are older forms of the later couple (type G—H).

The geographical and sociological differences which distinguish the bird of the sea from that of the continent (F from H) hold true also in the case of the difference between the bad and the helping birds type E and G). The last one (G) belongs to the Mbh. the epic of north-western India, whilst Rāvaṇa (E) belongs to the Rāmāyaṇa, the eastern epic, and Lankā to the Indian Ocean, the abode of Rokh (F). To this eastern part of India belongs also the Buddhism which dislikes the Suparṇarāja (F) in favour of the snakes. On account of that, even in Buddhist Tibet Garuḍa is represented as the bad enemy of the snakes (Grünwedel, cfr. n. 16, p. 162); at the same time Garuḍa is worshipped there as the strong enemy of the snakes, probably under Vaiṣṇava-influence (ib. fig. 159). In the same way the relatives of Viṣṇu's vehicle and servant are to be met with in the Iranian epic and in the Babylonian story, *viz.* in the three topics of Etanas eagle: its carrying the hero (type G), the searching for a drug plant (D) and the ascent from a hole (H). On the other hand the trick of the corpse in the story of Etana belongs to the type F. (cfr. n. 50). And the relations of Garuḍa to the sunbird point also to the north and west: Tibet, Central Asia, Hittites.

Roughly speaking: the region of all these types of birds is a continuous one. There are no similar birds in Africa (besides Madagascar and Egypt)

or Australia.¹ And the birds of America are presumably related to the Eurasian ones.

To fix the times of the different types is impossible, but in Ur (Indugud), in the R. V, in Babylonia (Zu, Etana: 650 B. C.). Greece (Ganymed: 4th c. B.C., Aelian etc.) and in India (2nd c. B. C.: Jātakas, Mbh. R). We have old testimonies. Some topics of these birds are quite peculiar as f. i. the nest, the youngsters and the snake of type H, in contrast to the enormous egg and the island of type F.¹ Ganymed is carried in the claws of the eagle (E), Viṣṇu (G) and the hero of type H riding on the back of the eagle, and the man of type F secretly tied to the leg of it.

Other topics are common to this or that type of birds as f. i. the magic of the feathers, the tree and the mountain as abode of the bird, the hostility against the snakes, the bearing even of elephants and the great hunger, the trick of the corpse or the raw meat.

One cannot believe that India was the birth-place of these types of birds or their only place of development. But India can be called a splendid focus where the topics and fairy tales of the east and west, of north and south met each other and got their most marvellous forms. Moreover Arabia (1001 nights) Greece (cfr. n. 50) Babylonia (Etana), Iran (Simurgh) Tibet and even Ceram had to be mentioned as similar meeting places of different

¹ The enormous egg is already mentioned by Lukian: Charpentier 353, 364.

types of these birds ; they can be called a region of contact of north and south, of the cultures of the sea and of the continent.

Ankara, 9th July 1940. *

Miscellaneous Articles

CAPTURE OF THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, 1781.*

By KALIKINKAR DATTA.

The Council in Calcutta had already¹ regulated the 'line of duty' of the Commissaries at Chinsura in the following manner:—

"First, that the Treasury, Magazine, Warehouses and Storehouses of every denomination be taken charge of and sealed up by the Commissaries.

Secondly, all accounts, books, papers etc., belonging to the Dutch Company be delivered up to the Commissaries, with an extract account of the balance in cash and of all goods and stores, which balance the Commissaries will compare with the other general accounts delivered up to them and finding it right, the Governor and Council of Chinsurah shall be requested to point out where the money is lodged as also the goods and stores, they shall be examined and compared by the Commissaries who shall report whether they are found to correspond with account balance delivered in by the Governor and Council and kept under their own lock and key.

* Based on unpublished records, preserved in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

(Continued from the September 1941 issue of J. B. O. R. S.)

1. *Fort William Consultations, 4th July, 1781, and Chinsurah Proceedings, 9th July, 1781.*

Thirdly, the Commissaries after having possessed themselves of the whole property of the Dutch Company, shall require from all individuals an exact account of their property at Chinsurah, either in money, goods, stores, warehouses, or houses. This account shall be delivered in on oath and within a certain time each individual shall point out where his property is lodged and if on examining the goods or money deposited in the warehouses or places sealed up by the Commissaries they shall be found to correspond with the accounts they shall be delivered up to the proprietors and applying to the Board in all difficult cases for special instruction.

Fourthly, in general, it is to be understood that private property will be secured to individuals under this express condition that a faithful account shall be given of all that belongs to the Dutch Company, whether at Chinsurah or an any other part of these Provinces and also an exact account of all balances or advances made at the *aurungs* on account of the investment.

Fifthly, but before any private property be delivered up, an account thereof shall be transmitted to the Commissaries, under oath, by each individual, which account with the affidavit, shall be transmitted to the Governor-General and Council who will issue whatever orders they may think proper respecting it to the Commissaries.

Sixthly, the Commissaries shall from the books and accounts delivered over by the Governor and Council of Chinsurah from an exact and distinct account of the advances made for the investment

of the current year and having ascertained also the amount that was intended to be invested by the Dutch, they shall go on with the advances in the same manner as the Governor and Council of Chinsurah would have done, had they remained there. The Dutch *aurungs*, for this purpose, shall be placed under the immediate charge of the Commissaries who shall appoint such persons as they may think proper or form such regulations as they may find expedient for conducting the business in such a manner that it may remain distinct and separate from all other concerns of the Company, it being the intention of the Governor-General and Council to send home the Dutch investment separate

Seventhly, the Commissaries will make an estimate of the money that will be required for the Dutch investment, agreeable to the plan formed by the Governor and Council of Chinsurah, and as it is to be paid out of the money found in Chinsurah, they will reserve enough to complete it and remit to the Presidency whatever overplus may remain

Eighthly, that for the purposes abovementioned they do inform the Board what agents and servants will be necessary, as often as they shall require the same and that they do correspond with such of the chiefs and Collectors of the Revenue and Agents of the Board of Trade on all matters in which such correspondence shall be necessary for the due execution of their trust for which purposes orders will be issued from the Board to the former and the Board of Trade will be desired to issue the like orders to their dependants to grant them all the

assistance they may be able to afford them in their several Departments."

Ninthly, that the Commissaries shall be and are empowered both jointly and separately to perform all the functions and acts above enumerated and to pass such resolutions amongst themselves as they or the majority of them shall agree upon referring all questions upon which their opinions shall be equally divided for determination to the Board and to depute any of their members whenever they shall judge it necessary for the more effectual means of ascertaining and securing the property committed to their charge.

Tenthly, that for their encouragement and reward in the execution of this trust they shall be allowed a salary to each of 500 sicca rupees per month and to draw a commission besides of..... per cent upon the net value and amount of all the money and effects of whatever denomination they shall secure and bring to account for which purpose an appraisement will be made of such stores or other things as shall not be sold or may remain for the use of the Company in such manner as the Board shall hereafter direct".

At a meeting of the Commissaries, held on the 9th July, 1781, they thought it necessary to defer the examination of 'public property' until they had received the accounts of the Dutch Company from Hon'ble John Mathias Ross, the Dutch Director at Jugli ¹. So they transmitted to the

1. *Chinsurah Proceedings, 9th July, 1781.*

latter an extract of the instructions of the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta on the subject of their receiving 'public property' and also wrote to him on the same date: "The Hon^{ble} the Governor-General and Council of Calcutta having been pleased to direct that private property be secured to individuals under the express condition that a faithful account shall be given of all that belongs to the Dutch Company either at Chinsurah or in any other part of these Provinces and also an exact account of all balances and advances made to the *aurungs* on account of the investment and their property at Chinsurah either in money, goods, stores, warehouses or houses within a certain time to be transmitted by the Commissaries to the Governor-General and Council for their orders. We request the favour of you to signify to all the Council and immediate dependants on the Dutch Company that we require the accounts of their respective property within the space of one month from this date agreeable to the form above prescribed and specifying the amount in cash, quantity of their goods and the places where they are lodged" ¹. In another letter, written to him also on the same day, he was requested to expedite the despatch of public accounts especially "the cash account made up to the time of the surrender of the town" ².

As regards private property, the Commissaries decided that the regulations regarding it should be made known to the inhabitants of Chinsurah so

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

that each of them might prepare the account of his property in the prescribed form without delay, and accordingly issued the following notice in that town:—"Whereas the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council of Calcutta have been pleased to signify their orders that all persons inhabitants of Chinsurah in order to secure their property shall deliver upon oath an exact account thereof either in Money, goods, Stores, Warehouses or Houses within a certain Time and specify therein Places, Houses, Warehouses where such property is lodged in order that it may be ascertained by the Commissaries, and that the above accounts shall be transmitted to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council for their order. This is to give notice that all individuals are hereby required to deliver in just accounts of their property according to the Form above prescribed to Messrs. Purling, Heatly, Adair and Ramus, commissaries on the part of the English Government in Chinsurah, in the space of one month. In default of which and after the expiration of the above-mentioned time all property unspecified and unclaimed will be considered and taken charge of as part of the Public Effects" ¹

As provided by article 6 of the Resolutions of the Governor-General and Council, already referred to, the Commissaries appointed Mr. Patrick Heatly, Mr. John Craigie, and Mr. Samuel Hasleby their Deputies to take charge of the Dutch

factories at Patna, Cassimbazar and Dacca respectively¹. They communicated their decision in this matter to the Revenue and Commercial Chiefs of Patna, Cassimbazar and Dacca. Thus they wrote to Mr. William Maxwell, Revenue Chief at Patna: "Mr. Patrick Heatley being appointed our Deputy at the Dutch Factory at Patna, we request the favour of you to direct that the Factory with the Treasury, Magazines, Ware-Houses and Store-houses of every denomination together with the contents thereof, as at the time surrendered, be delivered to him. We have been directed by the Governor-General and Council to correspond with you relating to the objects of our Commission and request you will afford our Deputy every assistance in the discharge of His trust, which he may be under the necessity of applying to you for"². Mr. William Hosia, Revenue Chief at Murshidabad and Mr. William Holland, Revenue Chief at Dacca, received a chief similar letter each. Letters were also sent to Messrs. Edward Stephenson, Simeon Droze and Henry Cottrell, Commercial Chiefs at Patna, Cassimbazar and Dacca respectively requesting them to render all possible assistance to the

1. *Ibid.* Mr. Samuel Hasleby was previously employed under the Board of Trade in Calcutta. *Letter from the Board of Trade in Calcutta to the Commissaries at Chinsurah, dated 17th July, 1781*,—quoted in *Chinsurah Proceedings, 21st July, 1781*. Mr. John Craigie held the post of surgeon to the Commercial Department at Cassimbazar. *Letter from the Commissaries at Chinsurah to the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta*, quoted in *Chinsurah Proceedings, 21st July, 1781*.

2. *Chinsurah Proceeding, 9th July 1781*.

Deputys in the discharge of their duties * Mr. Patrick Heatly (employed in the Revenue Accountant-General's Office in Calcutta) was then informed of his new appointment and furnished with the following instructions:—"....You will proceed with all the expedition you can make &.... you will apply to the person who may now be in charge of the Dutch Factory at Patna to deliver over to you the keys and possessions of the above Factory and of the Treasury, Magazines, Warehouses, Store-houses of every denomination. You will also require of the Dutch Chief all the accounts belonging to the Dutch Company to be given up to you with an extract account of the balance of cash in hand and of all the goods and stores in the Dutch Treasury and Warehouses. An inventory whereof you will transmit to us with all the expedition in your power. The private property in general you will understand will be secured to individuals under the Dutch protection at Patna under the express condition that a faithful account shall be rendered of all that ^{there} belongs to the Dutch Company at that place or any part dependent thereupon and also an exact account of all balances or advances made on account of their investment but before any private property shall be delivered up, an account thereof shall be given to you under oath by every individual specifying the amount of cash or goods in what places deposited and also their houses, warehouses, etc The property itself to

be compared by you with the account delivered in and transmitted to us that we may submit them to the Hon'ble Governor General and Council for such orders as they may think proper to issue thereupon. You will transmit us a list of all the servants of the Dutch East India Company employed in their Factory, specifying their names, stations or employments and qualities. . . . You will request the assistance of the native Dutch Company's servants a list of whom you will require of the Dutch Chief and you will from time to time inform us what further servants may be necessary for the transaction of your business " ¹. Mr. Philip Milner Dacres, President of the Commercial Council in Calcutta, was requested by the Commissaries at Chinsurah to spare the services of Mr. Samuel Hasleby to enable him to act as their Deputy at Dacca ².

Mr. Ross applied to the Commissaries to allow two bags of soap to pass to Duneacolly (Dhaniakhali) for the purposes of bleaching the cloths of the Dutch Company collected at their aung there. They accordingly requested the Commanding officer at Chinsurah to permit the bearer of the two bags of soap to "pass without obstruction" ³. In response to another request of Mr. Ross to have one of the godowns opened "to air the goods it contains", they also wrote to the Commanding Officer at Chinsurah to permit it "but to prevent the removal of any part of the Goods". The

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

Commissaries further decided on the 9th July 1781, that the '*paroles*' of the following persons be deposited in the office of the Secretary.—

"Parole of the the Hon'ble J. M. Ross, dated the 5th July Parole of Messrs: —

Peter Brueys, dated the 7th July
J. P. Humbert

A. Bogardt

J. W. I. Van Haugwitz

C. Blim

A. G. Krayenhof

J. W. Guerin

J. Van Midduni, dated the 7th

July, 1781

P. Van Gricken

L. Reaclae Bas

A. Demaffet

B. C. D. Bouman

A. Wreman

P. Vanden Brock

Parole of Mr. Vaerspyck, dated the 5th July 1781"'

On the 6th July, 1781 the Council in Calcutta had decided to issue the following 'advertisement: —
"whereas it has been long understood by the Members of this Government, that the servants of the Company and others have been, for some time past, accustomed to receive Commissions for the Provisions of the Investment of the Dutch Company in these Provinces, all such persons

who shall have received advances of Money from the Director and Council of Chinsurah or shall have entered into any Engagements or Contracts with them for the Provision of the Investment of the Dutch Company; or shall have any other Dealings with the Dutch Government, or any Members of it, on account of the Dutch East India Company, are hereby called upon and required to give a true and faithful account of the same to Messrs. Purling, Heatly, Adair and Ramus, appointed Commissaries for the immediate charge of the United States ; and either to deliver over to the said Commissaries all the money, goods and accounts of the Dutch Company in their charge, or to continue in the charge and Execution of the said Commission, Engagements or Contracts ; and to obey all such Instructions as they shall receive from the said Commissaries concerning the same ; and to receive such further advances as may be necessary for completing Commissions with which they may have been originally entrusted by the Directors or Chiefs of the Dutch Company ; or for fulfilling such Engagements or Contracts as they may have entered into with them ”. Twelve copies of it were sent to the Commissaries at Chinsurah for its circulation among the persons concerned, and they decided to act accordingly on the 13th July¹. In conformity with the orders of the Council in Calcutta, dated the 9th July, 1781, the Commissaries supplied Colonel Henry Watson, Commander of the

1. *Chinsurah Proceedings, dated 13th July, 1781.*

2. *Ibid.*

ship '*nonsuch*'(?) in Calcutta with such masts, spars, cables, etc., as were necessary for the equipments of his vessel¹. Mr. W. Paxton, Mint-master in Calcutta, had sent on the 11th July, 1781, his *sarkar* Ramkanai to the Commissaries at Chinsurah to purchase there five maunds (each maund being equivalent to 80 sicca weight) of Japan copper for the use of the English Company's mint in Calcutta². Ramkanai was permitted by them to transport to Calcutta the requisite quantity of copper on the 13th July³.

On the 11th July, 1781, Mr. John Mathias Ross had sent to the Commissaries at Chinsurah the following reply to their letter to him of the 9th July: "*****the difficulties which will arise by the Regulations contained in the said your favour and the diversity of opinions in what manner to execute them best, have occasioned the following remarks which I beg leave to refer to your judgment. It appears to me that the order given by your Government to inventory all private property is only intended to prevent any concealment of the Company's goods.....I have repeated this afterwards to you that not a single rupee nor pound of the Company's goods would be concealed; after-

1. *Letters from W. Bruere, Acting Secretary to the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta, and Colonel Henry Watson, to the Commissaries at Chinsurah, dated 9th July, 1781. Chinsurah Proceedings, 13th July, 1781.*

2. *Letter from W. Paxton, Mint master in Calcutta, to the Commissaries at Chinsurah, dated 11th July, 1781. Chinsurah Proceedings, 13th July, 1781.*

3. *Letter from the Commissaries at Chinsurah to the Commanding Officer there, dated 13th July, 1781. Chinsurah Proceedings, 13th July, 1781.*

wards I have together with all the Gentlemen who had any administration of the Company's effects signed our parole of honor and what is contained in that paper I need not to repeat. I have given the most strict orders for closing the Company's books especially in conformity with your request the accounts of the cash which would surely have been ready at this time if the administrator had been able to get the necessary papers for the purpose which were deposited there and which were absolutely wanted to give you an accurate account of the balance which the bengalys (Bengalis) or their papers could by no means give you, as according to our constitution they have no further management of any affairs as is absolutely necessary to transact business with their countrymen.—As speedy as this business is done (which is an affair of much importance and which requires the strictest exactness cannot be done on a sudden). I will deliver you the most exact accounts of every article which belongs to the Company and which being compared with the books and other accounts and the balances of money and goods will leave no doubt for any deceiving. And now Gentlemen having requested your particular attention on this point I conclude in testifying you my most hearty wishes that it would please you to point out such expedient means as in a short time may surmount all difficulties and regulate everything to our mutual satisfaction as I am fearful that a continual correspondence and representation on both sides might occasion confusion, will spend more time than is required and

perhaps give rise to altercation which I anxiously wish to avoid" ¹. In reply the Commissaries wrote to him as follows on the 13th July: "We have been honoured with your letter of the 11th. On the third paragraph of which we beg leave to recur to our letter of the 9th concerning private property. We understand that individuals will be secured therein if a faithful account is rendered of the affairs of the Dutch Company at Chinsurah and within the Provinces and that individuals are required to deliver to us faithful and exact accounts upon oath of their property whether at Chinsurah or in any part of the Provinces and we are directed to compare these accounts with the effects thus specified and refer them for the orders of our superior. Nothing, Sir, but a misrepresentation of our intentions which are with every deference to and consideration for your nation a desire punctually to adhere to the orders of our Government can lead to the altercation you express yourself so desirous of avoiding. We shall ever find a pleasure in giving you such satisfaction as we find we are competent to do, and will with readiness refer such points for the ultimate decision of the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council as we have not explicit instructions on ²".

The Commissaries entered in their register the names of the following Dutchmen, who had executed their parole on the 11th July, 1781:—

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

Messrs. T. Regal, Adi Dingshof, Dick Klop-
penburg, J. Coenraad Haysen, C. John Van Neirop,
Nei Dan Ley, W. Van Eyek, John Hendreius
Fischer, F. W. Wischel, Semion Jan De Brueyn,
John Carel Balot, Cornlis Van Laon, W. H. Ver-
boon, Peiter Forman, John Vander Hart, Jan
Christian Kruger, Ilans Jacob Holst, J. W. Van
Haal, Dirk Bringman, Alex. Dubordicux, Michael
Green Woudt, J. Rossel, A. D. Visser, Andrew
Chamero Sky, T. P. Foenander, Carel Blume,
I. G. Van Amelungzen, A. G. Van Kervel, Carel
de Viclinghoff, I. W. Shietzel, J. Piclersey, C. C.
Warman, Nic Junior, Fra. Oasdyk, J. Miennest,
Rudolpt (? Rudolph) ¹.

On the 6th July, 1781, Captain William Green,
Fort Adjutant, informed the Commissaries at
Chinsurah, according to the orders of the Governor-
General and Council in Calcutta, that there were
thirty-six Dutch prisoners in Fort William whom he
would supply with provisions, as directed by the
Governor-General, till Monday next, but that neces-
sary arrangements should be made for their main-
tenance during the entire period of their confine-
ment there ². He also expressed his willingness to
take care of fifty "native prisoners", sent there
"round Madras", till Monday ³. Mr. Healtly hav-
ing agreed, on the 9th July, to go to Calcutta
immediately, was requested by his colleagues "to
enquire into the Method of furnishing the Provi-

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Chinsurah Proceedings, 9th July, 1781.*

3. *Ibid.*

sions for the French prisoners and appoint a sircar and such other person's as are requisite for the above business making out an Extract of the Monthly expense it will occasion ". He was give a 'Draft' on Mr. John Fergusson of the value of sicca Rupees 988-12-6 on account of the price of the mast supplied to Mr. David Briggs for His Majesty's ship the Chaser and was authorised to utilize this amount for "the present maintenance of the Dutch prisoners in Fort William" ². He was further instructed by them to apply to Captain William Green, Fort Adjutant, for the relevant information regarding the Dutch prisoners to be able to "provide the necessaries and subsistence they may be in need of" ³. Before the arrival of Mr. Heatly in Calcutta, Captain William Green again wrote to the Commissaries at Chinsurah on the 10th July: "I was in hopes a second address would have been unnecessary from me on the part of the Dutch prisoners, who are prisoners of war in this garrison but humanity forbids my being silent where so many poor fellows are left to a chance for support. You were acquainted in my letter of the 6th instant that at the desire of the Governor I had undertaken to provide them with provisions until Monday, two days have since elapsed in which time (they) might have starved had I not continued my attention to their wants. My servant have brought and dressed their provisions since

1. *Ibid*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

they have been in confinement which has subjected me to the very great and disagreeable inconvenience of living out of my own house, which I can no longer submit to. This is therefore to acquaint you from this night I have done with Provisions" ¹.

But before this letter reached the Commissaries at Chinsurah, Mr. Heatly had gone to Calcutta and had put the amount of the 'Draft' drawn upon Mr. Fergusson into the hands of Lieutenant P. Arnold, who had undertaken "to procure the provisions of the Dutch prisoners in the Fort William" ². On Mr. Heatly's return to Chinsurah, the Commissaries there wrote a letter to Lieutenant Arnold on the 14th July, 1781, requesting him "to make out a monthly estimate of the expense and correspond with them on all matters relative to this business" ³. On the same date they sent to the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta four chests of ingots of gold, found in the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, under the escort of a Naik and four sepos ⁴.

1. *Chinsurah Proceedings*, 14th July, 1781.

2. *Ibid.* The following arrangement was made by Lieutenant Arnold for the thirty-six Dutch prisoners including four officers:—

A. Staff:

2 Sircars, 5 Cooks, 1 kurrusburdar, 3 Beasties (Water suppliers), 2 matranys, 6 coolies.

B. Provisions:

Meat	..	4 sheep and $\frac{1}{2}$ per day
Bread	..	36 double loaves pre day,
Rice	..	6 seers per day.
Arrack	..	80 drams per day.
Wood	..	2 maunds per day.
Butter	..	2 seers per day.
Oil	.	2 seers per day.
Salt and spices		

3. *Ibid.* 4. *Ibid*

The Dutch prisoners in Fort William having informed Mr. J. M. Ross on the 13th July, 1781, that the Captain of the ship Chaser had asked them to remain in readiness for being transported on his vessel to Madras, Mr. J. M. Ross addressed the following letter to the Commissaries at Chinsurah on the 14th July: "As all of these people have their houses, Wives and Children here in Chinsurah, I cannot help lamenting the hardness of their fate, should this order be executed and they all on a sudden be deprived of all their property and what must be more dear to them their Wives and Children. Humanity as well as the obligation I am under to take care for them as good subjects oblige me therefore to take their Interest at Heart. And on this principle I beg leave most friendly to solicit your friendly offices in their behalf that the above mentioned order may not be executed to them, but that they may stay where they are or if possible that the favour may be shown to them to be kept prisoners here amongst their families" ¹. A copy of this letter was immediately sent by the Commissaries to the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta for their consideration ². At the request of his colleagues, Mr. Charles Purling took over charge of the Dutch treasury at Chinsurah from Mr. Ross on the 17th July and found there in cash sicca rupees 2,33,282-5-3 ³.

1. *Ibid.* 2. *Ibid.*

3. *Chinsurah Proceedings, 17th July, 1781.*

The Dutch possession of Baranagore was also at the same time captured by the English. Directed by the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta to "take charge of the stores and effects both public and private belonging to the Dutch factory at Baranagore", the Committee of Revenue in Calcutta deputed Mr. John David Paterson on this business on the 6th July 1781 ¹. Mr. Paterson took charge of the effects of the Dutch at Baranagore from Sergeant Major Beniva, who "commanded the detachment" ², and sent an inventory of these to the Committee of Revenue. The Committee of Revenue while sending to the Commissaries at Chinsurah copy of a letter to it from Mr. Paterson, containing an inventory of the articles which came into his possession, wrote to them on the 13th July, 1781 :—"We have directed him (Mr. Paterson) to keep possession of these articles for the present till you shall depute some person to take charge of them, when they will be delivered up, on your sending us the necessary information. As we have received no authority from the Governor-General and Council to collect the rents of Baranagore we think it necessary to mention this for your information that you may take measures for securing them" ³.

Mr. John Craigie, who had been appointed Deputy of the Commissaries at Chinsurah for

1 *Letter from the Committee of Revenue, dated Calcutta 13th July, 1781, to the Commissaries at Chinsurah, Chinsurah Proceedings, 17th July, 1781.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

the Dutch factory at Kalikapore (near Casimbazar in the Murshidabad district), received from the acting Chief of Murshidabad "charge and possession" of the said factory on the 18th July, 1781¹. He informed the Commissaries of it on the same day and assured them that he "shall forthwith proceed to the execution of their orders with all possible despatch"². But he wrote to them again on the 19th July: "I this day tendered the Parole you transmitted me to be executed by the Dutch gentlemen of this factory and settlement which they begged to decline signing, alleging that they had already executed a Parole to Colonel Ironside when he took possession of the place. They observe however that they have no manner of objection to execute the Parole I tendered them, provided that already given to Ironside shall be either returned to them or destroyed. As that form was essentially different from what you have enjoined, I beg leave to be honoured with your further orders regarding it"³. In reply to Mr Carigie's letters, the Commissaries asked him to send them a copy of the '*Parole*' which had been given by the Dutch at Kalikapore to Colonel Ironside, and to furnish them with copies of relevant papers whenever any case was referred to them⁴. They also wrote to the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta: "We have the

1. *Letter from J. Carigie to the Commissaries at Chinsurah, dated 18th July, 1781.*

Chinsurah Proceedings. 21st July, 1781.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

honour to enclose you copy of a letter from Mr. John Craigie our Deputy at Kalikapore and request to be favoured with your orders upon the subject of the Parole with which we imagined it necessary to furnish our Deputies. We observe in Mr. Craigie's letter that the Parole we have sent and that executed to Colonel Ironside are different and as the latter must be in your Secretary's office we submit it to your consideration whether the difference is such as to require any alteration or whether it is necessary to insist upon the execution of one similar to that which you sent to us with our first instruction " '

Lieutenant Bradshaw, commanding at Chinsurah, submitted the following prayer to the Commissaries there on the 21st July, 1781 : "The multiplicity of business which must necessarily have engaged all your attention since the surrender of the Fort and Town of Chinsurah induced me to forbear troubling you with any representation on behalf of myself while there remained a supposition that it would in the least impede the public business you were employed upon—hoping that objection to be now in some degree removed, I beg leave to submit the following application to your consideration and to solicit that you will assist me with your influence in obtaining the sanction of Government to its being admitted of. The officer commanding the troops, stationed at Chandernagore, being allowed the sum of 200 rupees per month *House Rent* besides some other

little contingencies (which could be tedious to particularize) and the Commander-in-Chief having been pleased to approve my appointment to command the troops, stationed at Chinsurah, a place of equal trust and importance with Chander-nagore, I hope through your intercession (and that there be no impropriety in the request) to be indulged with the same allowances as is annexed to the officer commanding there, which the similarity of stations seems to make necessary to both and I have no doubt but when recommended by you, it will be readily granted " 1. The Commissaries forwarded Lieutenant Bradshaw's letter to the Council in Calcutta with their recommendation for granting him the "establishment he requires upon the footing of the officer commanding at Chandernagore " 2.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

Reviews and Notices of Books

THE BLUE GROVE *By* W. G. Archer. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 1-206 ; Index, pp. 207-210, and a map of Chota Nagpur with adjacent tracts of the United Provinces, Central Province and Orissa States. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1940. Printed in Great Britain by Unwin Brothers Ltd., Woking.

This intriguing title marks probably the first attempt to render the poetry of the Uraons with an eye to its ultimate ethnological significance. The Dance poems, Cultivation poems, Mrrriage poems and Dialogues, Omens and Riddles of the Uraons have been collected tract by tract, assorted and critically appraised in striking contrast to the sporadic, reminiscent and unsifted observations of almost all the authors who have handled such themes up till now. The Edwardian salt of his fancy (cf. "An Uraon hardly ever thinks about himself, and for this reason a state of anger is only with difficulty distinguished from an act of assault" p. 19) enables the author to reproduce the dry humour of the original in a sympathetic phraseology that few have equalled (cf. "The talk of the hundred days in a single day is over" (p. 118, B. G. *The Blue Grove : The Clinching Ceremony*).

The merit of the present study lies in the clear perception of the importance of dance and its accompanying song in understanding primitive life; dance and song regarded not in a haphazard.

as the leader of the dance. Mead ('The Sacred Dance of Jesus,' *The Quest*, October, 1910) describes that a Cornish Carol sang the life of Jesus as a dance, declaring that he died in order that "man may come unto the general dance." Thus throughout the world dancing has been so essential, so fundamental, a part of all vital society of the spirit and not merely of an anaemic improvisation of the intellect we should still have to ask it the question of the Bantu: "What do you dance?"

Dr. Louis Robinson has pointed out that the "spasmodic jerking of the chimpanzee's feeble legs" pounding against the partition of his cage is the crude motion out of which "the heavenly alchemy of evolution has created the divine movements of Pavlova." All writers so far, including Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy (*The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*), have laid undue stress on the sex impulse in Uraon dance. According to them it would appear as if this dance is a series of immodest and dissolute movements by which the cupidity of the flesh is aroused. From close personal observation the present reviewer can bear out the statement in the *Blue Grove* to the contrary: "Certainly there is little to suggest a sexual motive." (B. G. p. 22). The pygmies of Africa are described by Sir H. H. Johnston as a very decorous and highly moral people, but their dances, he adds, are not so. Yet these dances, though to the eyes of Johnston, prejudiced by European civilisation, "grossly indecent," he

1. cf similar ideas in Fraz, *The Golden Bonoh*, VAL. XII, pp. 235-236.

honestly, and inconsistently, adds, are "danced reverently": or as Mr. Archer says of Uraon dances, they "have the mechanical precision of a piece of military drill." (B. G. P. 22.)

The diagrams given on page 21 of the book show how the participants in an Uraon dance exhibit a wonderful unison; they are, as it were, fused into a single being stirred by a single impulse. Social unification is thus accomplished. Apart from war, this is the chief factor making for social solidarity in primitive life.

Mr. Archer's short notes on Uraon "character" (p. 19) are amply corroborated by his delightful rendering of their Dances, Omens, Sermons and Riddles. The functions of Uraon dancing are yet imperfectly realised: one wonders where the general onset of developing Urbanism against the old Ruralism will lead this people of "kindly simplicity and smiling energy" (p. 19).

Why, Parbatia Why go to Bhutan? Look at the changes in the country. The new jail in Ranchi. (B. G. p. 41.)

What would come when dancing went? In Europe, as Remy de Gourmont remarks, the drinking-shop conquered the dance, and alcohol replaced the violin. 'The *Thakur* sits in a tufted chair. Gold are the legs and silk the strings. The *Thakur* sits in a tufted chair'. (B. G. p. 67.)

To borrow the phrase of Arthur Waley, Uraon's interest 'goes in waves' First, it was the young administrator at Ranchi 'of the eighties'. He received a mandate from headquarters to prepare a note on the "Customs and Manners of the Oraons." After

due delay, prolonged cogitation and several reminders he reported : " Customs nasty, Manners nil. " " Next came the specialists, persons who know more and more about less and less. *The Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Mythic Society of Bangalore* and learned individuals have done much useful work but have tended to ascribe meanings and reasons which bewilder the Uraons themselves to whom 'a poem is a poem not necessarily possessing a logical meaning'—(*The Blue Grove*, p. 28). With a great show of knowledge, they make the Uraon villages and kraals to be places "where the Rudyard cease kipling and the Haggards ride no more. " Instead of the vital and varied life of the Uraons, they offer text-books as explanation. Finally we have a few, very few, knowledgeable persons who seek to relate the dances and songs of the Uraons to their social system which produced them. In this respect *The Blue Grove* will serve as a pattern for similar works undertaken in respect to other parts of Chota Nagpur.

A. B.-§.

HAIDER ALI. *By* Dr. N. K. Sinha, M. A.,
Ph. D., P. R. S., Lecturer in History, Calcutta
University, Pts.I—IV and 1-294. Published
by the author. Price Rs. 5.

The volume under review is a "study in biographical form of a typical figure of 18th century of Indian History. While not neglecting personal details, this work is concerned primarily with military and diplomatic activities" (Preface). We have been given here a detailed treatment of the first two phases of Haider Ali's career, that is of the one extending from 1749 to 1761 during which the great Mysorean raised himself from obscurity to prominence and power and of that from 1761 to 1778 which, as the writer has pointed out, forms the "predominantly anti-Maratha phase of the career of this warrior and statesman" (Preface). He promises to deal, in the next volume, with the third or the anti-British phase continuing from 1779 till Haider's death in 1782, and also to give therein a description of "his administration, his military system, the extent of French influence in his court, and a picture of him in council and conversation" (Preface).

The career of Haidar Ali is indeed an interesting and instructive one, as it covered a period in the history of our country, when, as a natural sequel to our wholesale national bankruptcy, it was quickly passing through political revolutions

pregnant with weighty consequences for the future. It is well-known how the annals of 18th century India were profoundly influenced by adventurers present in political, military and economic spheres. Most of them were self-seeking parasites, always prone to pursue such courses of policy as tended to safeguard merely their own interests and they did not care to consider for a moment what would be their effects on the respective states or individuals to which or to whom they professed allegiance. There were a few, however, who, though not completely free from those vices which lust for wealth or power begets, at least possessed dogged perseverance, untiring industry and considerable farsightedness by virtue of which they were capable of realising the significance of the various turns in the wheel of politics and shaping their activities in such a manner that they left some impress on the pages of history. Haidar Ali belongs to the latter category.

Wilks' account of Haidar Ali in his admirable work, entitled *'Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore'* (3 volumes, 1810-17), is valuable by itself, because he gathered his evidence on certain important matters from "living characters," though, so far as written documents are concerned, he relied mainly on those in Persian and English. But valuable contemporary records in Marathi, Portuguese, Dutch and French languages still remained unutilized. Indeed, no chapter of Indian History from the 17th century onwards can be regarded as being properly written

unless it is based on an adequate study of the vast mass of records preserved in those different languages, the discovery and collection of which will undoubtedly entail a tremendous strain on an Indian scholar whose lot is to work under severe handicaps.

The author of this book justly realised the indispensable necessity of collecting the relevant original documents in different languages from Government archives, libraries and other academic institutions in the distant corners of India and also from the India Office in England. He has made a commendable effort to make a comprehensive study of them, and the outcome has been highly satisfactory. He has carefully tested the statements of Wilks, and while pointing out what appears to him, from a study of other sources, to be defective in some of them (p 64 f. n. 15), he has given due credit to others (p. 51, f. n. 14) which he considers to be reasonable.

The author's methods of investigation and research being strictly scientific, the conclusions are sound and sufficiently reflective to create profound interest in the minds of critical students of history. Thus after having traced the early career of Haidar Ali from his birth in 1721 till his rise to power in 1760, he observes: "As we study the history of the rise of Haidar Ali, he does not appear to have possessed the daring and generous spirit of a hero, who courts danger and fame, disdains artifice and boldly challenges the allegiance of others. He is more conspicuous for

the steady pursuit of his aims, the flexibility of his means and the ability to submit his passions to the interest of his ambition. His career was marked by implacable vindictiveness and gross ingratitude, for revenge was profitable and gratitude expensive. Pride and virtue may recoil from many of his manoeuvres but one cannot but admire his power of assigning to objectives their true priorities which, combined with his brilliant opportunism, led him from success to success" (ps. 43-44).

While we must admit the devotedness of the French adventurer M. Gentil to his master Shujaud-daulah of Oudh, we can very well say that the fond expectations of the employers of most of the European military adventurers in India were not fulfilled. Dr. Sinha's comment on their character is highly instructive. "Haider's success", he writes, "would have been doubtful if Bento de Compos, the Portuguese officer commanding Nanjraja's white troops had not violated the oath which he had taken over an image of the virgin. He deserted to Haider, compelling Nanjraja to capitulate. But this was only to be expected. These European adventurers, who fill so important a place in the history of India in the 18th century, made treachery a part of their profession. Whoever built his plan of defence on the support of these 'hatmen' built upon a foundation of sand (ps. 41-42).

In Chapter IX the author has incorporated many new facts about the First Anglo-Mysore war and has also discussed the cause of British failure in this "the first war in which the British

Government finished by suing an Indian power for peace'' (ps. 142-48).

The author's language is well balanced. The printing and getup of the book are excellent. It contains a critical bibliography, an analytical index and some useful historical maps illustrating topography.

Appendix.

NOTES ON A TIBETAN ACCOUNT OF BENGAL.*

By S. C. SARKAR

63. 'Dgoñ. ahgrel.'; possibly these quotations from Bhaṭṭa-bhadra's commentaries are from the 'Bstan.ahgyur. collection of commentaries, and they should be traced.

P. 10, l. 4, 'Kāri-kā's.
64. The translation 'Bhaṭṭa-bhadra' is to be preferred, as elsewhere in the text the author *calls* him 'Bhaṭṭa-ghadri' (prob. a scribe's mistake),—though it is possible to translate 'Rjogs. bsal.' as 'Bha(ā)ra-bhadra' or 'Pāṇḍya-bhadra'.

The passages left out here deal chiefly with the scholars Jetāri and Maṭṭ-dāsa (or M°-ceṭa).

P. 10. l. 7. 'Bhaṭṭa-bhadra'.
65. The passages left out here deal with Maṭi-citra, Māṭṭ-ceṭa and Nāga-hava-Ratna-sambhava (or Nāgā-hvaya-Ratnākara).

P. 10, l. 8, (B°Ykṣa).
66. 'Buddha-Yakṣa' = 'The Enlightened Yueh-chi King,' 'Defender of the Faith', is often in Tibetan and other Asiatic texts put as 'Buddha-Pakṣa'; this error is of double origin,—confusion between 'Y' and 'P' in script, and the title itself and its significance, with statements like our Bhaṭṭa-

*The 5 Extracts,—Part I: B.—J. B. O. R. S., 1941.

bhadra's,—“he attained the rank of clear expounder of the Buddhist Doctrine”; hence the form ‘Buddha-Pakṣa’ became an easy slip. Some later texts further translate ‘Pakṣa’ into ‘Diśa’, and these forms were continued in the case of his son ‘Gambhīra’ also, instead of ‘Yakṣa’, though they do not suit his case.

67. His martial and building activities are referred to in some detail in
P. 10. l. 9, ‘person’. Mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa, 538-546.

68. As will be seen presently, Bhaṭabhadra wrote after the end of the Valabhī
P. 10, l. 10, ‘times’. dynasty (770 A. D.),— and Kadphises I was therefore to him a great name of a former age.

69. His and his son’s fame are also referred to in MMK ; in fact it seems
P. 10, l. 10, ‘famous’. from Tibetan sources that after Aśoka the next famous Buddhist patrons were some ‘Candra’ Kings, and the Kadphises or ‘Yakṣa’ Kings, and *not* Kaṇiṣka.

The ‘fame’ of Kadphises I is stated, in the portion of the passage left out here, to have been due to his meditation on the mystic letter ‘A’, *i. e.* the Celestial Buddha, the Dharma-kāya, or the divine essence, that was before everything else (symbolised by the 1st vowel). This detail has to be taken along with his title ‘clear expounder of the Doctrine’. Apparently it means that Kadphises I restated Buddhism in a Brāhmaṇical or Vedāntic way, deifying the Buddha and making him equal to the primordial divine essence ; Mahā-

yāna' is therefore much earlier than Kaṇiṣka; in fact traces of it are to be seen even in the days of Aśoka (in ritual, *e. g.* Vimāna-dassanā, etc.,—if not as yet in theology).

70, 70. That is, the Yueh-chi family was at first inclined towards Brāhma-
 P. 10, l. 11, nism (prob. Śaivism or Sun and
 'family', and l. 12, Fire worship), but as they rose to
 'Order'. imperial position under Kad-
 phises I, they found it prudent to patronise Bud-
 dhism (which was still in the 1st cents. B. C. and
 A. D. the creed of the majority). This is borne
 out by the coinage.—It is also to be noted that by
 joining the Buddhist Order formally, as a Monk-
 King, Kadphises I was following in the footsteps
 of Aśoka Maurya and the Later Maurya or Candia
 Kings (*vide infra.*), and anticipated Kaṇiṣka and
 Harṣa (rather poor followers).

71. Shortly afterwards Bhaṭa-bhadra says that
 Buddha-Yakṣa's son Gambhīra-
 P. 10, l. 12, Yakṣa flourished in Pāñcāla.
 'Sāketa'. Sum. pa. Mkhan po. also notes
 elsewhere (pp. 92, 93) that Buddha-Yakṣa became
 Emperor at Vārānaśi and sent an embassy thence to
 China, and received homage of West and Middle Ind-
 ian princes and invaded and defeated the Parthian
 King in Punjab; also that his son Gambhīra-Yakṣa
 became King in the City of Pāñcāla. Vārānaśi
 seems to have been included within Pāñcāla from
 time to time in early Buddhistic periods; cf.
 'Brahmadattas' of the Pāñcāla dynasty ruling
 at Vārānaśi; so also Sāketa may have been at that

time either within KĀśi or PĀñcāla, or the three districts may have formed one unit.

72. Cf. MMK.,—"he will die full of age".
 Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. also notes
 P. 10, l. 13, 80 elsewhere (p. 93) that his son
 years'.
 (K.°II) too reigned for 40 years.

The passages left out here deal with a number of Buddhist Churchmen and Scholars all over India,—e. g., in Siṃhala, KĀñcī, Surāṣṭra, Kāśī, Kuśuma-pura and Mathurā,—the most important among them being Ārya-Kṛṣṇa and Sudarśana (the 6th and 7th Hierarchs), Yaśodhara (the great scholar, itinerant debater moving throughout the then known world across the seas, and an expert in 'Rāja dharma'), and Vasu-netra (or V°-mitra), the adviser of emperors.

73. These quoted verses about the 5 Siṃha Kings (and the first Yakṣa King
 P. 10, l. 15, above) are to be regarded as
 'verses'.
 crystallisations of earlier historical traditions, which had become current sayings in the time of Bhaṭabhadra (770 A. D. ff.). Hence the information given in these verses is very valuable.

74. For the meaning of 'Prācī', *vide* n. 12
 P. 10, l. 15, above (p. 7, l. 23, 'Prācī').
 (Prācī).

75. The Bay of Pengal; probably its W. coast
 down to Godāvarī and its E.
 P. 10, l. 16, coast down to Chitagong (Vaṅga)
 'Ocean'.
 together with its N. coast
 (Samatata), are indicated : if so, this would confirm
 Gupta conquests established or alleged.

76. I. e., 'Mahā-Kāntāra' of Gupta Inscr.,
 wherefrom the Vākāṭaka dominions began.
 P. 10, l. 17, 'Kāntāra'.

77. 'Lho. Idan.' = Southern. The portion of
 the R. Lohita (Brahmaputra) lying to the South of the Himalayas or Tibet is intended,—i. e.
 P. 10, l. 18, 'Lohita'.
 the Assamese portion of the River and its Valley. The Southern bend of the Laubitya (above Dibrugarh) is called in Tibet 'Lho. kha.'. Cf. Lho. pa. and Lho. brag. = South country, i. e., Sikkim and Bhotan. The extension of Gupta hegemony up to Assam is thus confirmed; but it was only overlordship and not direct rule, as we shall see presently; e.g. the Candras were practically independent rulers within this area.

78. It will be seen later on that these 5 Simhas
 (or Licchavis) are the 5 'Gupta'
 P. 10, l. 19, 'Tibet'.
 Emperors of modern historians. The statement that their dominions extended to the Snowy borders of Tibet is very significant; this not only confirms Gupta hegemony over Kartripura and other Himalayan regions, but indicates that the so-called 'Gupta' dominion was built up by a Himalayan power, viz., the Licchavis of Nepāl with Tibetan affinities. The whole subject of racial affinities of Licchavis, Śākya and other Kōśalan or Ikṣvāku groups has to be re-studied; it is to be noted that the original as well as the later reformed religious systems of Tibet (Bon & Buddhism) are claimed by Tibetans to have been

derived from the Śākya race; we shall also see later on that Tibetan accounts never speak of the 'Gupta' dynasty but always of the Licchavi or Siṃha dynasty, conquests and empire. So it is not correct to speak of the Gupta empire as the 2nd or revived 'Magadhan' empire. Puṣyamitra's 'Magadhan' empire is another such exploded myth.

79, 79. Kāśi is 'soul-blessing' because of 'dharma-cakra-pravaratana'. 'Agra' purī is medieval and modern 'Kasi' and l. 21, Agra, which according to Tibetan 'Agra'. sources was a great monasteric centre in early Buddhist ages [*vide* my art. on Anc. Ind. Geog. in Indian Culture, Vol. 7, no 2]. This statement evidently refers to the earlier limit of the Gupta dominion to Kāśi-Kośala and the later expansion to Upper Yamunā Valley. But Malwa and Gujrat are not referred to; these quoted verses therefore must have originated between 375 and 395 A. D.

80. Though the 5 Siṃhas were suzerains 'within these limits' the Candra P. 10, 1, 20, 'limits', (or later Mauryan) Dynasty continued to rule unmolested in Aṅga, Gauda, Puṇḍra, Vaṅga (la) and Kāmarūpa (parts); *Vide infra*

81. *Vide* n. 78 (p. 10, l. 19, 'Tibet') above; also the Time and Dynastic P. 10, 1, 20, art in the Appendix. These 'Siṃphas' 5 Siṃhas are; Siṃha Licchavi-rāja (f. of Kumāra-devī), Samudra (Licchavi-putra) Rāma, Bhāṣara (Siṃha-Vikrama), and Bharṣi or Pañcama Siṃha (Mahendia-Siṃha),—*i.e.* down to Kumāra Gupta I of the so-called Gupta dynasty. After

that this Tibetan source seems to regard the Empire as having broken up and no longer an empire.

82. There is a fair amount of evidence *re* the active patronage of Buddhism by the Siṃhas (or Guptas) in Bud. lit.; this requires stressing, as modern historians have mostly interpreted the Gupta rule as a reactionary anti-Buddhist one. Vide Addendum I and notes thereon for the Buddhistic leanings of the Siṃhas.

83. The *order* of the following 15 small paragraphs *re* post-Buddha noted kings and their years has been changed for obvious reasons, in the following manner: paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 15 of S. C. Das's printed edn. corresponds to 1, 6, 3, 4, 5, 10, 7, 8, 2, 9, 12, 13, 11, 14 and 15 as given here.—Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. evidently quotes from Bhaṭa-bhadra's king lists *at random*, without much thought of chronological arrangement, his interest being mainly to *name* the patrons of Buddhism. But if these sentences are put in the proper order, the value of the details of years, etc., becomes at once apparent.

84. I. e., taking B.^o's d. at 543 B. C., Kālāsoka became King "at Kusumapura" in 443; but at that date the Bud. Council was held at Vaiśālī, and 10 years before that (*i. e.*, in 453) Kālāsoka had become King (evidently at Vaiśālī). K.^o-A.^o acc. to this statement lived up to 393 B.C., ruled for at least 60 years, and patronised Buddhism first in 456 B. C.. *Vide* the Dynastic and Chronological Charts in the Appendix.

85 Bhaṭṭabhadra evidently takes all the Kings from Kālāśoka Mahā-Nanda (or P. 11, 1. 5, his predecessor Śiśunāga Nanda-
'300 years.' vardhana) down to the last Mauryans(imperial) as "truly Nandas" and he is of course right there. The date of the last, 'imperial' Maurya would (according to this calculation) be 203, 171, 158-57, or 153, *according as* we take the commencement of the 'Nanda period' at Śiśunāga-Nandavardhana's rise to power, his accession as Emperor, Kālāśoka's pretension to Magadhan throne, or his formal accession to it. It is to be noted that acc. to Purāṇas, the end of Mauryas (br. of Nandas) is in 157 B. C. The point here is that though ancient Indian historians distinguished between the Śiśunāgas, the earlier and the later Nandas, and the Mauryas, imperial and provincial, they at the same time regarded the whole series, except the provincial and later Mauryas whom they call the Candras of the Prāci or Baṅgāla, as 'truly Nandas'; they recognise only 2 breaks in Post-Buddha Magadhan dynastic history, *viz.*, the supplanting of the collateral Houses of Puṣyaka-Darśaka and of Haryauka-Ajātasatru by Śiśunāga, and the fall of the Empire under Nemi-Candra Bṛhadratha. — *Vide* Dyn. and Chron. Charts in App.

86. This paragraph should properly go after the para. on Aśoka (Dh.°-A.°) P. 11, 1. 7, later on; but I have retained it in
'70 years'. its quoted 3rd place after Kālāśoka, since MMK and Tārānātha put it in the same wrong position, *viz.*, Vi (Vita) śoka and Sura (Vira) sena after Kālāśoka, whereas they should be

placed after Dharmāśoka, as is done by Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. (on the authority of Chinese Road Bills: *vide infra*).—Restoring this para. to its proper place, we get Surasena's date as 202 or 198 B. C.,—70 years after Aśoka's informal or formal accession. The text has only '70 years', and this may be interpreted any way.—There is one possible way of justifying this 3rd para. in its 3rd place : we might take Surasena-Bhadrāsena, one of the the 10 Sons of Kālāśoka ('the Ten Nandas') who ruled together nominally for 22 years, Mahā-Padma Nanda being supreme all the time,—and we might suppose that of the 22 years, 17 years went to Bhadrāsena's lot, and also that '70' of the text is a mistake for '17'. MMK has 17 years for Surasena. But this is a little far-fetched.—I prefer Surasena, great-grandson of Aśoka (following the Chinese Road Bills' account which calls him Indrasena), with whom apparently Aśoka's direct line comes to an end, and the imperial succession passed for a brief period to a collateral Maurya line descended from Vindusāra, *viz.* the viceregal 'Candra' family of Baṅgāla, which ended its 'imperial' career with Nemi Candra Bṛahdratha.—*vide* Charts in App.

87. I. e., after Kālāśoka, Mahā-Padma Nanda ruled for 56 years, 393—337.

P. 11, l. 10. He is to be taken as the same 'Brā^o. doctrines'. as Ugra (Śūra) sena or Agrames. His brāhmaṇical friends (Pāṇini, Vararuci the Elder, etc.) are noted in MMK.

88. Candragupta apparently did not recognise Dhana-Nanda as King; he waged

civil war for 16 years of his reign, 337—321, whereafter he ascended the throne of Magadha. Here again the text has '70 years' only,—which I am inclined to interpret as "till 70th year of Muriya-Kāla"; if we take 337 B.C. as the start of the Muriya-Kāla (commencement of the Civil War and Candragupta as Pretender), this 70th year would be B.C. 269—68, the year of formal accession of Aśoka, (which would happen after Vindusāra's death after 4 years' illness).—Cāṇakya connection with the 3 Great Mauryans, his wickedness and fall in disgrace, are vouched for by other Tibetan sources as well, besides Bhaṭṭa-bhadra,—e.g. MMK and Sum. pa. M. khan. po. (*vide* B. of Pt. II and Add. II in the article).

89. I. e., 6 years after his formal accession, or in B. C. 263—62,—which agrees with known facts.

90. Cf. MMK. 530—'34. Puṣya (mitra) is here called the Yogī perhaps because Patañjali the Yoga philosopher was his 'purohita'. The violence of Puṣyamitra is more to be accounted for by the fact that he was a rebel usurper while Buddhist monasteries would naturally support the legitimate King Nemi-Candra Bṛhadratha and his dynasty,—than by a theory of Brāhmaṇical revival and reaction; and the truth of such persecution by Puṣyamitra need not therefore be doubted, specially as all Asiatic Buddhist sources affirm it.

91, 91. Cf. notes 66—72 above.

P. 11, l. 21, '(B.^o Yakṣa)' and l. 23, 'Pāñcāla'.

92. Bhikṣu Priya is obviously Aśoka Priyadarsin as Bhikṣu, *i.e.* after abdication. 'After Bhikṣu Priya' would mean after his death as Monk or Ex-King. If Aśoka is taken to have abdicated in 232 B. C., and to have died in 222 or 10 years after as monk, the date of 78 A. D. is obtained for Candana-pāla (C^o-gupta or C^o-Trātā *i.e.* Candana the Saviour),—who is no other than Chinese Can-ten=Kaṇiṣka. [If the MMK tradition that Aśoka lived for 100 years is accepted for Dharmāśoka, the interpretation of Bhaṭabhadra's present statement would be that Kaṇiṣka came to the throne in 106 A.D., or attained his zenith of flourishing reign in that year,—which is not at all improbable; also that while Aśoka abdicated in 232 or after, he continued to live as Monk till about 194 B. C.,—since he could not very well have been born before 294 B. C.].

93. 'Uttarâpatha' in Tibetan works denotes not only North Indian plains but also Himālayan as well as Trans-Himālyan regions adjacent, specially in the North-West (Kumaon to Balkh).— 'Duruṣka' or 'Turuṣka' (Turk) in Tibetan texts is applied to the Kushans probably because the Kushans emerged into their historic career from the same regions of Manchuria and Mongolia as the later Turks (who were nearer to the Tibetan writers in time),— 'Mahā-Sammata' ('Maṇ.pos.bkur.wa.') probably refers to civil wars amongst the different Yueh-chi Kushan and Śaka groups after Kaṇiṣka, and some kind of agreed settlement

amongst them thereafter, whereby one of their ruling families came to be regarded as "the Great Agreed Head" of all the Śaka, Yakṣa and Kushan settlers in India. Possibly the 1st Agreed Head after the internecine wars was Huviṣka. If we take Kaṇiṣka's accession at c. 78 A. D., the entire 'Duruṣka' domination lasted for 300 years, till 378 A.D.,—which agrees with known facts *re* Candra-Gupta II's Śaka conquests; of this period the 'Mahā-Sammata' dynasty occupied the last 2 centuries, *i.e.* 178 to 378; *i.e.* Huviṣka's accession would be placed c. 178,—which again is not improbable. Perhaps the title 'Śaka-Muruṇḍa' is another form of 'Mahā-Sammata' of the Śaka tribes and the Mathurā Dynasty was the 'Agreed Head' of these Tibetan references. *Vide* MMK, 576 ff.

94, 94. In MMK, Mānavadeva is stated to belong to the Licchavi dynasty and to have flourished in the '80 years' & l. 6, North in the Himādrī regions in 'Kumāra'.
 'Nepāla-Maṇḍala'. It would seem therefore that in this time the Licchavis ruled over Lha. sa. (=Lha.lan.) as well ('in the interior of the Snowy Mts.'); Tibet is included in Tibetan geography within 'Uttarāpatha' (cf. MMK, Ch. X, 88). —I am inclined to take the MMK list (ff. Mānavadeva) of Vṛṣa, Bhāvasu, Bhākrama (Parākrama) and Kamala, as a corrupt form of the Licchavi or Siṃha King-series 'Bharṣī-Bhāṣara-Vikrama (or Krama) and Kumāra' given in the Tibetan texts dealt with in this article; this would imply that Mānavadeva is the Licchavi-Siṃha ancestor of the so-called 'Gupta' dynasty (on the maternal side)

The position of Mānava-deva and the Licchavi dynasty of Nepal and Tibet between the Later Śakas and Sroñ. bcan.sgam.po. (bet. 4th and 7th cent.), both in MMK and the present text, shows that those Licchavis who were the supporters of and related with the Guptas are meant here. —Mānava-deva's 80 years' rule or life is corroborated by MMK.

Just as Mānava-deva Licchavi is stated to have ruled over Lha.sa. as well, so again in the next passage Hiraṇyagarbha (=Sroñ. bcan.sgam.po.= lit., 'straight and right', *i.e.*, golden, sterling and 'deep',—*i.e.* whose inside is golden) is stated to have ruled over both Lha.lan. and Rgyagar. or Tibet and plains of India. This claim is probably true, since we know from other sources that a good part of the sub-Himalayan plains (north of the Ganges) was under combined Chinese, Nepalese and Tibetan occupation from about 648 to 703, and of the 3 powers Tibet was at that time the most powerful so far as Indian affairs were concerned. These two statements show that the Licchavis and Tibetans were either cognate peoples or got very much mixed up with one another.—Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. states (in detail) elsewhere (p. 169) that Sroñ. bcan.sgam.po. (Hiraṇyagarbha) died at the age of 82; MMK. says 100 (566). The figure 150 therefore includes the regnal periods of his immediate successors as well (Mañ. sroñ., Lde.khri. bñan. brtan. and the famous Khri. sroñ. ldeahu. bñan. (patron of scholars from Baṅgala and other parts of India). About Mañ-jughoṣa in Kumāra form, cf. MMK, 568.

95, 95. This statement shows that Bhaṭa-bhadra belongs to the Valabhi region, p. 12, l. 10, '300 years' & l. 12, '5 months.' between Ujjayini and the sea.

The detail "55 years & 5 months" also confirms his speaking about his own country.—The reference is to the Valabhī dynasty (the Maitrakas), c. 470—770 (300 years), many of of whose kings used the title Śilāditya, and amongst whom there were also a number of kings called Dhruva (sena, bhaṭa) and Dhâra (sena). These latter are included 'within' the dynasty, not 'thereafter,'—which is evidently a slip for 'thereof'. According to our text most of the Valabhī kings were 'bodhisattvas,' *i. e.* at least they patronised Buddhism.

96. 'Mgon. pa.' may be translated by 'Buddha' or 'Avalokiteśvara,' as well as by p. 12, l. 16, 'Nâtha,' which last suits the 'Nathas'. context best. The passages left out deal with Lui-pâ, the fisherman saint, and his disciple Dârika-pâ (=king Indra-bodhi), Râma of Oḍibisa, Kṛṣṇa-pâ (Kahṇa-pâ or Kṛṣṇa-caryā), Dharma-kīrtti the chief of Paṇḍitas, Mahila, Saṃ-gara, Bhavya-ghoṣa, etc.,—saints and scholars.

9. Vajrayoginī (in East Bengal), which exists even now as a well-known village was thus the capital of p. 12, l. 18, Bāṅgâlâ on the eve of Gopâla's 'by nam. accession. The South direction is from Tibet. The place was therefore a flourishing one 3 centuries before Atīśa's time.

98. This legend, and the one (in Tārānātha and MMK) that Gopāla became King by overcoming the spirit of a previous Queen who was a Nāginī (referring to Lalitā-Nāginī, sister of Bhartṛhari of Malwa and Queen of Vimala Candra, the last great Candra King of Bengal, before Gopī and Lalita),—show that the rise of Gopāla to power was associated with conflict with the remnants of Nāga power (=Bhāra-śiva-Vākāṭaka, Vaiśya or 'Vardhana,' i. e. Yaśo-dharman and Harṣa's power) in Bengal (from 2nd to 4th century and again in 6th century, with Vimala Candra), and subsequent amalgamation with it. The phrase 'making a gift of Kingship' reflects the political condition of those times, as depicted in MMK., when Kings were chosen almost every month or oftener.—*Vide* extracts from MMK. in App. for identity of Nāgas and Vaiśyas, etc.

99. We learn here that Gopāla was a cavalry soldier before he became King. P. 12, l. 21, MMK says his family was 'Gop la.' 'dāsa-jīvi', either of menial class, or fisherman class, which latter is in keeping with the maritime connections of the Pāla family. *Vide* App. and notes.

100. I. e., after Gopāla's son (about whom there is some confusion in the Tibetan sources, some naming him as Devapāla and some as Dharmapāla), the main line of Gopāla came to an end, and some branch of the

family succeeded ; this branch Pâla line started with the nephew or grandson of Pa. sa. ha. na., who is not identifiable, unless he is taken to be the same as the Nâga paramour of Deddâ the Queen of Gopâla, from whom Gopâla's successors are traced by some Tibetan accounts ; *vide* note 41 under '5Extracts : Pt. I, A.'—The legend of this Nâga element in Pâla dynasty is another indication of Nâga-Pâla political connections

A Mithila copy of the Salyaparvan of the Mahabharata

By A. BANERJI-SĀSTRĪ

Written in Mithilā script of the XVII century, the Ms has been acquired in 1942 for the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Some of the readings noted below will show the nature of the Ms. It is dated Śaka 1537 and Samvat. 1672 i, e, 1615 A. D.

अ०	श्लो०	* Printed book readings	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
१	२	प्रापद्यत कौरवः	.....कौरवाः	
५	मुहुर्मुहुः । कृच्छ्रात्स्वशिविरं	हृत्तशिष्टैः	पुनः पुनः । कृच्छ्राच्च शिविरं	
६	राजन्विभूतिमिच्छद्भिः		हृत्तशेषैः	
७	प्रभाते विमले सति ।		राजा नह्यलभतशर्म	
			भवितव्यं च पाथिवः ।	

* Kumbakonam Edition, 1906.

	Printed book readings	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
८	राजसत्तमम् । इति शिष्टैर्नृपैः सह कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः महारथैः युद्धाय	राजपुङ्गवः । सहशैषैर्नृपैः सह । कुरूणां पाण्डवैः सह । सुयोधनः । वेगेन	
१३	तस्मिन्नु निहते वीरे महेष्वापस्त्रयोरणे कृतवर्मा कृपो द्रौणिर्जन्तुः पाण्डवसैनिकान् ॥	तस्मिन्हते महेष्वासे इतशेषास्त्रयो रथाः । संरम्भाशिशि राजेन्द्र जहुः पाञ्चालसैनिकान्	
१४	ततः पूर्वाह्नसमये	ततोऽपराह्नसमये	
१५	स प्रविश्य पुरीं सूतो	प्रविश्य नगरं तूष्णे	
१६		नास्ति	
१७		पूर्वाह्नपद्यद्वयं नास्ति ।	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page
	दृष्ट्वैवचनरांशोऽर्घ्याजहारातिदुःखितः	करोद च नरव्याघ्रो हाराजभ्रितिदुःखितः ।	
		Folio 2 is missing	
		Folio 3 A.	
२	शत्यपर्वणि शल्यवधपर्वणि प्रथमोऽध्यायः	शल्यपर्वणि कथोद्देशः	
२	बहु संचिन्तयित्वा तु सञ्जयं वाक्यमब्रवीत् विचिन्त्य च महाराज ततो वचनमब्रवीत् ।		
५	अद्य चैव हतान् श्रुत्वा दीर्यते मे भृशं मनः	अद्य श्रुत्वा हतान् पुत्रान् भृशं मे दीर्यते मनः	
६	यदि पुत्राणां न मे रूपनिर्दर्शनं	यदि तेषान्तु न मे ह्युपनिर्दर्शनं	
७	अयं प्राप्तांस्तथा श्रुत्वा	मध्यप्राप्तांस्तथा श्रुत्वा	
८	हतैश्वर्यान्	हतैश्वर्यान्	
९	हिवत्स राजेन्द्र ममानाथस्य पुत्रक ।	त्र राजेन्द्र मामनाथस्य संप्रतं ।	
	कान्तु	कान्तु	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page
११	मां वीर	पितरं	
१२	कथं त्वं निहतः पार्थः...ऽवपराजितः	कथं विनिहताः पार्थैः...ऽवपराजिताः	
१३	कोऽनु मामुत्थितः काले	उत्थितं तत्पे	३A
१४	कं कण्ठे स्नेहेन क्लिप्तं	मां कण्ठे स्नेहेनाक्लिप्तं	
	अनुशास्तास्मि	अनुशाधीति कौरव्य	
१७	बृहद्वलश्च क्राथश्च शकुनिश्चापि सौवलः	..काशीशः शकुनिः सौबलस्तथा।	३B
१८	स्लेच्छाश्च शतसाहस्राः	स्लेच्छाश्च दशद्वयैव	
१९	भीष्मः पितामहश्चैव	..शान्तनवश्चैव	
	श्रुतायुश्चाश्रुतायुश्च	श्रुतायुश्चाच्युतायुश्च	
२०	जलसन्धोऽथाव्यशृङ्गी	जलसन्धोवार्षशृङ्गी	
	अलम्बुषो वीरबाहुः	..महाबाहुः	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
२१	राजसत्तम मदर्थं प्रहरिष्यन्ति प्राणांस्यक्त्वा धनानि च मदर्थमुद्यताः सर्वे प्राणांस्यक्त्वा रणे प्रभो ।	राजसत्तमाः ।	
२२	तेषां मध्ये	येषां मध्ये	
२६	योत्स्यन्ते सह राजेन्द्र कर्णे एको	यास्यन्ति.... कर्णस्त्वेको	
२७	ते वै नृपतयो वीराः स्थास्यन्ति	ततो नृपतयो वीरा यास्यन्ति . .	
२६	एवं च वदतः सूत पाण्डवान् रणे ।	तस्याहं वदतः सूत पाण्डवान्मृधे ।	
३३	कर्णश्च निहतः संख्ये दिव्यास्त्रज्ञो महाबलः नास्ति सोमदत्तश्च संयुगे	नास्ति सोमदत्तश्च वीर्यवान् ।	
३५-	जलसन्धश्च पौरवः	....कौरवः	

श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
	श्रुतायुश्चाश्रुतायुश्च	श्रुतायुश्चाच्युतायुश्च	
३६	महाबलस्तथा पाण्ड्यः सर्वशस्त्रभृतां वरः नास्ति	नास्ति	
	निहतः पाण्डवैः संख्ये किमन्यद्भागधेयतः ॥ नास्ति		
३८	त्रैगर्त्तश्च जनाधिपः ।	त्रिगर्त्तश्च नराधिपः ।	
	संशप्तकाश्च निहताः	संसप्तकाश्च बहवः	
३९	आर्ष्यशृङ्गिश्च	आर्ष्यशृङ्गश्च	
४१	निहतः स बलो वीरः	सस्वतो निहतो यत्र	4A
४३		यत्र शूरा महेष्वासाः सर्वशास्त्रास्त्रपारगाः	
	बहवो निहताः सूत	.... निहतास्तत्र	
४४	समरे सर्वे	समरे यत्र	
४७	अहं विद्युक्तस्तैर्भाग्यैः	अहं विद्युक्तः स्वैर्भाग्यैः	

श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings	Ms. page.
४८	वनवासाहते भभो ।	वनवासा हते मम ।	
५३	एवं स शोकसंतप्तः	एवं दुःखेन संतप्तः	
५५	दुःखेन महता राजन्	राजा	
५६	कमकुर्वत मामकाः	किमकुर्वत.....	
५८	एवमेव हतो द्रोणः सर्वेषामेवपश्यताम् ५८	नास्ति ।	
५९	एवमेव हतः कर्णः सूतपुत्रः प्रतापवान् ।	नास्ति ।	
	स राजकानां सर्वेषां पश्यतां वःकिरीटिना ॥ नास्ति ।		
६३	यन्मयाऽनुष्ठितं पुरा	यन्मया न कृतंपुरा	4 B
६४	कोवा प्रत्युद्यौ रथी ।	को वः प्रत्युदीयाद्रथी ।	
६५	मद्राजस्य संयुगे ।	मद्राजस्य धीमतः ।	
६६	कथञ्च वःसमेतानामद्राजोमहारथः ।	कथञ्चनः समेतानां मद्राजो महाबलः ॥	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
६७	ब्रूहि सर्वं	ब्रूहि त्वञ्च	
६८	निहताः स पदानुगाः	समप्रबलवाहनाः ।	
६९	माधवौ युधि	सात्वतौ युधि ।	
	इति श्रीमन्महाभारत शल्यपर्वणि शल्यवध- पर्वणि द्वितीयोध्यायः ॥२॥	इति श्रीमहाभारते शल्यपर्वणि संजयं प्रति युद्धप्रश्नः ॥	
१	महान् क्षयः ।	महाक्षयः ।	
३	नरवरक्षये	गजवरक्षये ।	
६	हते द्वीपे किरीटिना	महाद्वीपे किरीटिना	5A
८	प्रत्युपायाम	प्रत्युद्ययस्ते	
९	प्राद्रवंस्ततः ।	प्राद्रवन्भयात् ।	
१०	बिध्वस्तकवचाः	विशस्त्रा विवशाः	

अन्योन्यमभिनिव्रन्तो वीक्षमाणः भयाद्दिशः । तेन्योन्यमभिविघ्नन्तो वीक्ष्यमाणा भयाद्विताः ।

- ३ १२ अश्वानन्ये हयानन्ये
१३ पदातिसंघाश्चैषैः पलायद्भिर्भूँ शीहताः । पदातिसंघाश्चैवै पलायद्भिर्भूँ शं हतैः ॥
१६ तान्प्रेक्ष्य द्रवतः सर्वान् भीमसेनभयाद्विताम्

हा हा कृत्वैवमब्रवीत् । कृत्वैवम०

- १७ जघने युध्यमानं मां बलिनं धृष्यमाणं मां
१८ नोत्सहेताप्यतिक्रान्तुं नोत्सहेद्भ्यतिक्रान्तुं
२० शूरार्यसदृशं शूरार्थसदृशं
सूतो हेमपरिच्छिन्नान् ततो हेमपरिच्छिन्नान्
२५ नतान् रथस्थो भूमिष्ठान् स तान् रथस्थान् भूमिस्थो
योधयामास कौन्तेयो स तान् रथस्थान् कौरव्या

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
२७	पतङ्गा इव पावकम्	पतङ्गा ज्वलनं यथा ।	
२८	भूतग्रामा इवान्तकम्	भामसेनमिवान्तकम् ।	
३२	सात्यकिश्चमहाबलः ।	महारथः ।	
	जवेनाभ्यपतन् कृष्टा घ्नन्तो	जवेनाभ्यपतद्भूतो घ्नन्तौ.....	
३३	तस्याश्ववाहान्	तस्याश्ववारान्	
४२	ते सर्वे तावकान्प्रेक्ष्य	ते सर्वास्तावकान्प्रेक्ष्य	
४३	अवस्थितं	व्यवस्थितं	
४४	न स्म किंचन दृश्यते	न किञ्चित्पश्यदृश्यत ।	6A
४५	अन्यकारीकृते लोकं शरीभूते	अन्यकारकृते.....शरभूते	
	तावकाः	त्वदीयाः	
४६	सर्वेषु	सैन्येषु	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
	सैन्ये ते समुपाद्भवत्	समेताः समुपाद्भवन् ।	
४७	श्रीमान्	सर्वान्	
	भरतश्रेष्ठ	भरतश्रेष्ठो	
४८	अभिगर्जन्ते	अभिगर्जन्तः	
५१	भृशविक्षतम् ।	भयपीडितम्	
५२	ततो वचनं	इदं वचनं	
५४	स्वल्पं	अल्पं	
५४	यदि सर्वेऽत्र तिष्ठामो ध्रुवं	यदि सर्वे प्रतिष्ठामो ध्रुवां	6 A.
५५	कृतकिल्बिषान्	कृतकल्मषान्	
५६	श्रेयो नः समरे	श्रेयाञ्चः समरे	
	युध्यताम्	युध्यतः	

अ०	श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
	५७	वशमेष्यथ विदुताः ।	क्रुद्धस्य च समेष्यथ ।	
	५८	न धर्मं दातु मर्हथ	न तद्धातुमर्हाहथ ।	
	५९	नान्यत्कर्मास्ति पापीयः क्षत्रियस्य पलायनात् । नहि कर्मास्ति पापीयः क्षत्रियस्य पलायनः ।	०श्रयोस्ति	
		सुचिरेणाजिताल्लोकान्सद्यो युद्धान्समश्नुते	आचारेणाजिताल्लोकान्सद्यो योधः	
			समश्नुते ।	
३	६२	घृष्टद्युम्नपुरोगाश्च	युधिष्ठिरपुरोगांश्च	6 B.
	१-२		शृणु राजन्नवहित इत्यादि समानीतेषुचा-	
			सकृदित्यन्तं श्लोकद्वयं नास्ति लेखपुस्तके ।	
५		पतितानवनीपालान् ध्वजांश्चैव	रपतितान्वथनीशंश्च थांश्चापि . .	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
	पत्नीश्च भारत ।	पतिं च मारिष ।	
६	आयोधनं महाघोरं	आयोधनं चातिघोरं	
३	मृशोद्विग्नेषु सैन्येषु	.....सर्वेषु	
४	व्यायमानेषु योधेषु	.....सैन्येषु	
	बलानां मथ्यमानानां	.....वध्यमानानां	
७	कृपाविष्टः कृपो दृष्ट्वा वयः शीलः	कृपाविष्टः कृपो राजन् नयशीलः.....	
	दुर्योधनमनुकोशाद्वाक्यं वाक्यत्रिशारदः	दुर्योधनं मन्युत्रशाद्वचनं वचनक्षमः ।	
११	तेस्म घोरां समापन्ना	तस्माद्घोरां समापन्नां	
	तदत्र प्रतिवक्ष्यामि	तत्र त्वां संप्रवक्ष्यामि	
१३	मतिमकुर्महि ।	मतिमकुर्महे ।	
१५	सर्वैरथ च जीवद्भि	सर्वैरपि च.....	

अ०	श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
	१७	संसुह्रन्ते मनांसि नः	संहृष्यन्ति मनांसि नः	7 A.
	१८	स्फुरन्तीव महाविद्युत्	स्फुरन्तीव महाविद्युत्	
	१९	विद्युद्भ्रघनेष्विव ।	विद्युद्भ्रगणेष्विव ।	
		नास्ति	जाम्बूनदविचित्राङ्गा वहन्ते चार्जुनं रणे ।	
३	२०	अर्जुनोऽस्त्रविशारदः	अर्जुनोऽस्त्रविदां वरः ।	7 A
		गहनं शिशिरापाये ददाहाग्निरिवोल्बणः ।	गहनं शिशरे कचं ददाहाग्निरिवोत्थितः ।	
	२१	गाहमानमनीकानि महेन्द्रसदृशप्रभम् ।	एतदग्रे “धनञ्जयमपश्यामश्चतुर्दंष्ट्रमिव द्विपम्” इति मुद्रिते नास्ति ।	
		विक्षोभयन्तं सेनां वै	विक्षोभयन्तं सेनास्ताः	
	२२	धनुर्घोषिण पाण्डवम् ।	..... पाण्डवः ।	
		सिंहं मृगगणानिव ।	मृगगणा इव ।	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
२३	लोकमध्ये विरेजतुः ।	विचरेतुः ।	
२४	युध्यतां चाभितो	हतानां चाभितो	
२५	तव सैन्यानि गच्छता ।	तवानीकानि सर्वशः ।	
	विशीर्यन्ते समन्ततः	व्यशीर्यन्ते ०	
२६	मज्जमानां महारण्वे	भ्रान्तवातां महारण्वे ।	
२७	द्रोणः सहात्मजः	..... सहातुगः	
	तथा कनु ।	तदा कनु ।	
२८	युष्यमानं जयद्रथम्	भ्रेद्यच्छेव जयद्रथम् ।	
	मिषतो	द्विषतो	
३०	जयद्रथो हतो राजन्	जयद्रथे हते राजन्	
•	को वेह स पुमानस्ति	को वा इह पुमानस्ति	7 B

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings	Ms. page.
३१	विद्विधानि धैर्याणि	विविधानि वीर्याणि	
३२	नदीव प्रतिभाति मे ।	नदीवाकुलतां गता ।	
३३	महाराजः कक्षेष्वाग्नरिव ज्वलन् ।	महाबाहुः कक्षेग्नरिव संज्वलन् ।	
३४	दारयेत गिरीन्सर्वाङ् शोषयेच्चैव सागरान् ।	दारयेत्स क्षोभयेत च	
३५	कृतं तत्सकलं सर्वं	कृतं तत्सकलं तेन	
३६	व्यूढं गाण्डीवधन्वना	गूढं गाण्डीवधन्वना ।	
३७	चीर्णानि	कीर्णानि	
४१	हीनाः स्म बलशक्तितः	हीनाः स्वबलशक्तितः ।	
४२	न जानीते द्वि यः श्रेयः श्रेयसश्चावमन्यते ।	न जानीते ह यः श्रेयः श्रेयश्चैवावमन्यते	
४४	कृपाशीलः	क्षमाशीलः	
४७	अर्जुनो भीमसेनश्च	अर्जुनं भीमसेनं च	

अ०	श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
५	१३	अजेयमरिभिः	अजेयं शत्रुभिः	9. B
	१४	प्रयोगबलसंहारप्रायश्चित्तं सुमङ्गलम् ।	नास्ति ।	
		प्रयोगविनियोगौ च स्मृतिर्यस्य गुणान्विडः ।		
६	१६	अयं कुलेन रूपेण	.....वीर्येण	10A.
	२४	ततो दुर्योधनः शल्यंभूमौस्थित्वारथे स्थितम्	ततो दुर्योधनो भूमौ स्थित्वारथवरास्थितम्	
		द्रोणभीष्मसमं	रामभीष्मसमं	
	२७	दुर्योधनवचः श्रुत्वा शल्यो मद्राधिपस्तदा ।	शल्य उवाच ॥	
		उवाच वाक्यं वाक्यज्ञो राजानं राजसन्निधौ		
	२८	यत्र मां मन्यसे राजन् कुरु राज करोमि तत् ।	यत्तु मां मन्यसे राजन् करोमि तव तत्सदा ।	
		इति श्रीमन्महाभारते शल्यपर्वणि शल्यवध-	इति श्रीमहाभारते शल्यपर्वणि शल्याभिषेके	
		पर्वणि पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥		

अ०	श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
६	१	एतच्छ्रुत्वा वचो	एतत्कृत्वा वचो	10B.
	३	संकुद्धः	कुद्धस्तु	
		विजेष्यामि	विजेष्ये	
	५-१३		तं च व्यूहं विधास्याभीत्या दिसङ्ख्य सवाचेत्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति ।	
	१४	वित्तष्टरूपः	दृष्टरूपः	
	१७	अहि शत्रून् समागतान्	जय शत्रून्	
		महाबलः	महायशः	
		सर्वा प्रशास्तु निहतद्विषम्	सर्वे प्रशासन्तु हतद्विषः	
	१६	दुरापमकृतात्मभिः	दुःप्राप्यमकृतात्मभिः ।	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
		शल्यउवाच	
	अद्यैवाहं रणे सर्वानित्यारभ्य अद्य सैन्यानि पाण्डूनां द्रावयिष्ये समंतत इत्यन्ताः (६-१२) मुद्रिते पूर्वमेव पठिताः ।		11A.
२२	तावकी	तावका	
	मुषिता सुप्ता दूर्ध्वचिन्ता च साभवत् ।	मुखिनी भूत्वा स्वस्थचित्तेव साभवत् ।	
२६	आर्तायनिमहं जाने	पार्थ जानेह्यहं तम्बै	
	महातेजा	महाराज	
२८	तस्याहं चिन्तयानश्च	चाजौ हि चिन्तयन्नेव	
३३	स त्वमेको हि लोकेऽस्मिन्	स देवलोके कृत्स्नेऽस्मिन्	
३५	सौतेः पश्चादसौ	अतिपश्चादसौ	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings.	Ms. page.
३८	मद्रजनेश्वरम्	मद्रपुरेश्वरम्	11B.
४२	धर्मपुत्रः	सञ्जय उवाच नास्ति । धर्मराजः	
७	इति श्रीमन्महाभारते शल्यपर्वणि शल्यबध- पर्वणि षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥६॥	इति श्रीमहाभारते शल्यपर्वणि शल्याभिषेकः	
४	योधानां सैन्यमुख्यानामन्योन्यं प्रति- गर्जताम्	रोधनार्थं हि योधानां सैन्यानां चाप्यु- दीर्यताम्	
५	सन्नद्धानि व्यहरयन्त मृत्युं कृत्वा निवर्त्तनम्	सन्नद्धान्येव हरयन्तमृत्युत्वानिवर्त्तनम्।	
७	चक्रुराहताः	चक्रिरे तदा ।	
८	अद्याचार्यसुतो द्रोणिर्नैको युष्येत शत्रुभिः ।	नास्ति ।	
११	कौरवान् युद्धे	कौरवान् राजन्	12A.
१२	ततो बलं समभवत्	तद्वलं भरतश्रेष्ठ	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings	Ms. page.
	चदीर्णैर्यकुञ्जरम् ।	चद्धूतर्यकुञ्जरम्	
२१	प्रत्युद्यौ	प्रत्युद्यातः	
	सैन्धवाश्च महारथाः	सैन्धवाश्च महारथाः	
२२	मयप्रणुत् ।	भयं प्रदन् ।	12B.
२४	गौतमो वक्षिणे पार्श्वे	कृपोऽभूदक्षिणे पार्श्वे	
२५	काम्बोजैः	काम्बोजैः	
३१	अभ्यवर्तन्त	अभ्यवर्तन्त	
३३	अभ्यवर्तन्त संकुद्धा	अभ्यवर्तन्त राजेन्द्र	
	नास्ति ।	इति श्रीमहाभारते शल्यपर्वणि	
		after verse 33.	
३४ :	कर्णे जयद्रथे ।	कर्णे महारथे ।	

अ० श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings	Ms. page.
३८	तत्र भारत ।	भरतर्षभ ।	13A.
४२	पतिकोट्यस्तथातिस्रो पाण्डवाः शूराः	नराः कोट्यस्तथा तिस्रो पाण्डवा राजन्	
८	इति सप्तमोऽध्यायः । ७ ।	इति श्रीमहाभारते शशल्यपर्वणि ।	
२	वाजिनश्च	वादिनश्च	
४	भीताः	वीराः	
६	परिवार्य	निवार्य च	
८	परिवार्य महारथाः ।	परिवार्य समन्ततः ।	
९	सोत्तरा युधि निर्जम्बुर्द्रवमाणं महारथम् तथा च रथिनं क्रुद्धं विकिरन्तं शरान्बहून् नागा जम्बुर्महाराज परिवार्य समन्ततः ।	नास्ति । नास्ति	

अ०	श्लो०	Printed book readings.	Ms. readings	Ms. page.
	१२	सुरैश्चित्रा क्षतविक्षता	छिन्ना कृतविक्षता	13A.
	१५	वादित्राणां च घोषेण शंखानां निनदेन च	नास्ति ।	
	१६	शस्त्रौघानां च पात्यताम् ।	निस्त्रिशानां च दीप्यताम् ।	
	१८	धरणीतले ।	वसुधातले ।	

Notes of the Quarter.

A meeting of the Council of Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Society's Office on Sunday, the 23rd November, 1941 at 9-30 a. m.

Present :—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali
(in the Chair)
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on Monday, the 22nd September, 1941.

2. Passed the monthly account for the months of September and October, 1941.

3. Passed payment of the Patna Law Press Bills, dated 30-10-41.

(a) Bill No. 193 printing charges of the Journal,
June Issue 1941 Rs. 337-8

(b) Bill No. 194 printing charges of Index to
Journal 1940 Rs. 44-8-0.

4. Read the letter of the Mharajadhiraja of Darbhanga regarding the publication of the six remaining volumes of the descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in Mithila.

Approved of the reply of the Hon'ble Vice-President to the letter.

5. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society :—

- (i) Mr. Sayyed Zuhoor Hussayn Bukhari
Secretary, Watson Muusem Rajkot.
- (ii) Mr. W. G. Archer, I. C. S., District
Magistrate and Collector, Patna.
- (iii) Mr. Pran Krishna Parija, I. E. S., Princi-
pal, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

6. Considered letter from Mr. Yazdani,
Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad Deccan.

Approved of the reply of the Hon'ble Vice-
President to the letter.

A. Banerji-Sastri,
Honorary General Secretary.

A meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Society's Office on Sunday the 21st December, 1941 at 9-30 a. m.

*Present :—*The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt. (in the chair).
Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on Sunday, the 23rd November, 1941.

2. Elected Babu Rameswar Prasad Jaruhar, Advocate, Patna High Court as an ordinary member of the Society.

3. Considered the advisability of exchange with the Journal of the Literary Committee, Dharwar, Resolved that the matter be considered later in the light of further issues of the Journal.

4. Read Mr. N. C. Mehta's letter, dated the 8th December, 1941.

Resolved that Mr. Mehta be requested to address the annual meeting in March, 1942.

5. Read Mr. O. C. Gangoly's letter dated the 5th December, 1941.

6. Elected Maharaja Bahadur Ram Ran Vijaya Prasad Singh of Dumraon as a Life Member of the Society.

7. Passed the monthly account for the month of November, 1941.

8. Elected Mrs. Archer as an ordinary member of the Society.

9. Read Mr. L. K. Jha's letter, dated the 17th December, 1941.

Resolved that if a person of the eminence and wealth of Mr. Jha be exempted from payment of past dues, however nominal, other members might be affected. The Secretary was directed to request Mr. Jha to help the Society in the matter.

10. Considered the application of Dr. K. K. Datta.

Resolved to allow his request for payment of dues by instalment, as a special case.

A. Banerji-Sastri,

Honorary General Secretary.

22-12-1941.

